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ABOLISH THE PAUPER LAWS

THE various American states must soon think seriously of re-writing the old state poor laws, not merely because the exigencies of the depression have led to a new concern about poor relief administration but because the so-called "emergency" relief organizations must, in the not distant future, be supplanted by some continuing machinery vastly superior to the old local poor relief administration.

These state poor laws are, most of them, survivals of the old statutes adopted more than a century ago in one state after another, following old colonial laws, which in the beginning had followed the general principles of the English Poor Law. In spite of many amendments, the general principles of the old statutes have been very little changed. They were written for a parochial society, when the local government was the only government that directly reached the ordinary citizen and they were written for a less democratic period of society.

The terminology of these statutes shows how far they are removed from the life of the present day. The old statutory provisions have

various titles, such as "Paupers,"¹ or "County Poor," or "Care of Poor and Indigent," or "Superintendent and Overseers of the Poor," or just "The Poor."

The word "Paupers" which still appears as the title of the Illinois poor law, is used throughout the text of the statute to describe the men, women, and children who ask for or are given public assistance. And, in twenty-nine other states, this disgracefully opprobrious and un-American term is the legal title of the statute making provision for public aid, or where the word "Paupers" does not appear in the title, it is used in the text of the statute and often appears also in a section head.²

¹ The following states use the word "Paupers" as the title of the poor relief statute:

Alabama	Paupers	<i>Code of Alabama</i> , 1928, chap. 50
Arkansas	Poor-House and Paupers	<i>Digest of the Statutes, Arkansas</i> , 1916, secs. 1140-47
California	Paupers	<i>General Laws of California</i> , 1931, Title 428
Colorado	Paupers	Supplement to <i>Compiled Laws of Colorado</i> , 1932, chap. 170
Connecticut	Paupers	<i>General Statutes of Connecticut</i> , Revision of 1930, chap. 85
Illinois	Paupers	<i>Illinois Revised Statutes</i> (Smith-Hurd), 1933, chap. 107
Maine	Paupers, Their Settlement and Support	<i>Revised Statutes of Maine</i> , 1930, chap. 33
Mississippi	Paupers	<i>Mississippi Code</i> , 1930, Annotated, chap. 144
New Hampshire	Paupers	<i>Public Laws of New Hampshire</i> , 1926, Vol. I, chaps. 105, 106, 107
New Mexico	Paupers	<i>New Mexico Statutes</i> , Annotated, 1929, chap. 101
Rhode Island	Of the Settlement and Support of Paupers and Prevention of Pauperism	<i>Rhode Island General Laws</i> , 1923, Title XII
Vermont	Support of Paupers	<i>General Laws of Vermont</i> , 1917, Title 20, chap. 182
Wyoming	Poor and Paupers	<i>Wyoming Compiled Statutes</i> , 1920, chap. 116

² See, e.g., the Delaware Statutes, chap. 54, with the title *Poor* but with the following secs. 1457-59, Paupers, 1462 and 1465, Unsettled paupers, 1472, Insane paupers; Georgia Code, Title 6, chap. 8, *County Poor*, but with Art. 4, Paupers, Art. 4a, Contracts for paupers; Idaho Code, Title 30, chap. 29, *County Poor Relief*, with secs. 30-2909, Discharge of pauper, 30-2910, Treatment of paupers; Iowa Code with the title *Support of the Poor*, with sec. 5313, Foreign paupers; Kentucky Statutes, chap. 102, *Poor and Poorhouses*, with sec. 3922, Paupers brought from other states, 3923, Persons bringing paupers here, 3933, County Court to provide for paupers; Louisiana General Statutes, Title XLV, chap. 12, *Poor Relief*, with sec. 6470, Support of infirm paupers, 6471, Farm or home for infirm paupers; Maryland Annotated Code, Art. 4, *Almshouses and Trustees of the Poor*, sec. 3, Pauper children, and Art. 88 A, secs. 14-16, Pauper or vagrant children; Nevada Compiled Statutes, *Poor and Poor Laws*, with sec. 5142, Sick paupers, 5144, When pauper entitled to relief, 5147, Penalty for transporting

Changing the old titles³ of these statutes and the terminology in the text of the laws, will, of course, be easier than making the funda-

paupers, 5148-50, Bringing paupers into state or county; North Carolina Code, *County Poor*, with sec. 1341, Paupers not to be hired out at auction; Ohio Annotated Code, *Poor*, with sec. 3478, Action for non-support of pauper, 3482, Removal of foreign pauper, 3494, Control of pauper's property, 3496, Pauper dying in benevolent institution; Oklahoma Statutes, *Care of Poor and Indigent*, with sec. 7558, Determination of pauper's residence; Oregon Code, *Support of the Poor*, with secs. 27-1405, Minor liable to become pauper, 27-1407, County of residence must refund to pauper's support, 27-1409, Penalty for bringing pauper into county; Pennsylvania Statute Law, *The General Poor Relief Act of 1925*, with secs. 16811a-1000, Estate of pauper liable, 1002, Real estate of deceased pauper, 1003, Guardianship of pauper, 1004-08, Pauper; Texas Revised Civil Statutes, Title 44, *Courts—Commissioners*, Art. 2351 (11) Support of paupers, 2351 (12) Burial of paupers, and Arts. 158 and 1626; Washington Code, *Poor*, with secs. 1701, When pauper sent out of county, 1703, Bringing pauper into county; West Virginia Official Code, chap. 9, *The Poor*, with sec. 7, Residence of pauper, 14, Bringing pauper into state, 17, Liability of relatives of pauper for support; Wisconsin Statutes, chap. 49, *Relief and Support of the Poor*, with secs. 49.03, Local relief of transient paupers, 49.04, County relief of transient and local paupers, 49.06, Bringing paupers into the state.

³ Attention may well be called to the very excellent example set by the new poor law of New York which is called the *Public Welfare Law* (1929). The influence of social workers is clearly to be seen in the title (see Section I, "Short Title," and see also, for an example of this modern phraseology, the following sections of Article IX:

"§ 77. *Care to be given.* It shall be the duty of public welfare officials, insofar as funds are available for that purpose, to provide adequately for those unable to maintain themselves. They shall, whenever possible, administer such care and treatment as may restore such persons to a condition of self-support, and shall give such service to those liable to become destitute as may prevent the necessity of their becoming public charges.

"As far as possible families shall be kept together, and they shall not be separated for reasons of poverty alone. Whenever practicable, relief and service shall be given a poor person in his own home; the commissioner of public welfare may, however, in his discretion, provide relief and care in a boarding home, the home of a relative, a public or private home or institution, or in a hospital.

"§ 78. *Investigation.* Whenever a public welfare official receives an application for relief, or is informed that a person is in need of care, an investigation and record shall be made of the circumstances of such person. The object of such investigation shall be to ascertain the settlement of such person, the name, age, the religious faith, physical condition, earnings or other income, and ability for labor of all members of the family, the cause of the present condition, the ability and willingness of the family, relatives, friends and church to assist, and such other facts as may be helpful in determining the treatment which will be most helpful to such person. . . .

"§ 79. *Supervision.* When relief is granted to a person in his own home, or in any place outside of an institution, such person shall be visited once a month, or as often as necessary, in order that any care or service tending to restore such person to a condition of self-support and to relieve his distress may be rendered and in order that relief may be given only as long as necessary for this purpose. . . .

"§ 80. *Co-operation of public welfare officials.* . . . Every public welfare official shall also co-operate whenever possible with any private agency whose object is the relief and care of persons in need or the improvement of social conditions in order that there may be no duplication of relief and that the work of agencies both public and private may be united in an effort to relieve distress and prevent dependency."

mental and sweeping changes that are needed to make adequate provision for our fellow-citizens who are in need of help. But merely changing to modern terms less associated with the old degrading methods of poor law practice, will in itself be a recognition of the great social changes that have taken place in the last century.

THE EFFECT OF EARLIER DEPRESSIONS

The failure to revise the old statutes has been due in part to the indifference of many social workers to the public relief program. A new understanding of the importance of the public social services has arisen in the last few years which might almost be called a new state of mind among those responsible for social welfare organization.

The early distrust of public expenditures for relief among American social workers goes back to the old experience with the English Poor Law and the belief of the so-called "upper classes" of England, who were also the "governing classes" of that country, that public relief was the root of all evil and that outdoor relief should be abolished entirely or, at least, reduced to the lowest possible terms.

The influence of Malthus is clearly seen in the famous report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws in 1834. Malthus persuaded the so-called "upper classes" that the poor were responsible for their own misery and destitution. The English "pauper," according to Malthus, had "erred in the face of a most clear and precise warning, and can have no just reason to complain of any person but himself when he feels the consequences of his error. All [public relief] should be denied him; and he should be left to the uncertain support of private charity. He should be taught to know that the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, had doomed him and his family to suffer . . . that he had no claim of *right* on society for the smallest portion of food, beyond that which his labour would fairly purchase; and that if he and his family were saved from feeling the natural consequence of his imprudence he would owe it to the pity of some kind benefactor, to whom, therefore, he ought to be bound by the strongest ties of gratitude."

In brief, the Malthusian doctrine taught the well-to-do to harden their hearts, for "the principal difficulty would be to restrain the hand of benevolence from assisting those in distress in so indiscriminate a manner as to encourage indolence and want of foresight in others." Malthusian teaching had great influence on social plans and policies of the early nineteenth century, but it has no more place in modern social organization than a hand-loom system in a modern cotton mill.

The Malthusian theory that public relief should be abolished and private charity relied on as a means of preventing destitution appeared not only in the reports of the Royal Commission but also in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 and in the policies and reports of the new national poor law authority, the Poor Law Commissioners (1834-47).

Our American legislative reports and our American poor laws of this period, and even our court decisions, bear the marks of Malthusian sophistry on the subject of outdoor relief. And this Malthusian belief in the superior virtues of private over public relief was again influential in this country in the periods following the earlier depressions of 1873 and 1893. After the crisis of 1873, corruption was widespread in the distribution of public relief in the days of municipal graft and dishonesty. Disinterested public servants and early social welfare leaders in America followed English tradition in thinking that private charity was the way out.

The charity organization societies were founded in this decade and, partly because of the incompetent squandering of the outdoor relief funds and partly because they were fashioned after the English Charity Organization Society model, these societies adopted the *defeatist* Malthusian attitude toward public relief. Briefly, their doctrine was that the outdoor relief system could not be reformed, and therefore, nothing could be done except to abolish it. In many large cities in this country outdoor relief *was* abolished.

Two early papers read by Seth Low at meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction throw light on this point. In the first paper⁷ he described the great abuse of outdoor relief in

⁷ "The Problem of Pauperism in the Cities of Brooklyn and New York," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1879, p. 200.

Brooklyn in the years preceding 1878. He then gave an account of what he considered the very satisfactory results of completely abolishing public outdoor relief.

Two years later (in 1881) he read a paper at a meeting in Boston on "Outdoor Relief in the United States." Here he again supported the Malthusian theory that the only thing to do with outdoor relief was to abolish it. He described the beneficial changes brought about in Philadelphia and in Brooklyn⁸ by the abolition of public relief. He quoted approvingly the judgment of the English Poor Law Commissioners in 1834, which he summarized as follows: "Outdoor Relief is a vital evil. It admits of no remedy." "Private benevolence," he told the National Conference in 1881, "is equal to the burden of such Out-door Relief as may be actually needed."

⁸ In Brooklyn, he thought that "the stoppage of public out-door relief, wonderful as it seems, appears to have thrown absolutely no additional burden upon the only general relief-giving society in Brooklyn, the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor," and he said: "It is claimed emphatically, that, today, Brooklyn does not need any system of public out-door relief as a part of 'a wise and humane pauper system.'"

"Both in Philadelphia and in Brooklyn," he said, "out-door relief was attacked primarily because it was prostituted to political ends, and was demoralizing in its administration. In neither city has there yet appeared the slightest cause for regret at the abolition of the system." "Of Philadelphia, as of Brooklyn, it may be said that the public out-door relief has been found to be unnecessary."

"The fears as to the suffering to be entailed upon the poor, of those who oppose the abolition of public out-door relief in our large cities are groundless." The experience of Brooklyn and of Philadelphia proved, he thought, "beyond controversy," that no suffering followed such abolition. "No reason," he added, "occurs to the writer why a similar experience would not follow the abolition of out-door relief in any city or town sufficiently large to enable private benevolence to organize and act in concert. Of course public out-door relief is better administered in some places than in others, but in dense centres of population the same evils must beset it everywhere. An overseer of the poor of one of New York's smaller cities is reported to have said, 'Outdoor relief is as catching as the small-pox.' Not only so, it is almost as disastrous, certainly in cities, to the families which catch it. Is it not worth while in these days of prosperity for communities, large and small, all over the country, to try the experiment of abolishing public out-door relief? Private benevolence seems preferable to public relief, because it is almost always inspired by a higher motive, and therefore more apt to consider the good of the receiver, because it contains within itself the limits to which it can be carried and because such relief is less readily sought after by the recipients." Finally, his conclusions were: "That out-door relief, in the United States as elsewhere, tends inevitably and surely to increase pauperism; That in towns and cities it is not needed; That even in villages it can probably be dispensed with." "Whenever society has agents enough to organize relief, it can give, through private sources, all the out-door relief needed."

At the first World's Fair in Chicago, Robert Treat Paine read a paper in which he proposed that the widow with children should everywhere be removed from the public outdoor relief lists and given over to be helped by her church, by some private society, or by "some benevolent individual." This was the old method, to assume that public poor relief could not be made a proper public social service;⁹ but in less than two decades Illinois had passed the first mothers' aid law, providing public aid outside of the old poor law system for the group Mr. Paine would have put on private charitable funds.

THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER

The old *defeatist* attitude toward public relief, although it survived in some cities and among many board members even into the present century, has nevertheless been gradually disappearing. Our whole understanding of the fundamental rights of the common man has radically changed in the last generation. There is a new theory that certain minimum standards of living must be available for all. The liberal world has been increasingly convinced that the improvement in the lot of the disadvantaged man must come in two ways: (1) by an increase in real wages; and (2) by making new public services and new forms of public aid available to all. By this second method, the available family income is indirectly increased, since certain charges are taken off the family budget and placed on some public budget. The extension of free education is the most striking illustration of this point. A century ago the poor man was expected to pay the cost of even elementary education for his children. Today his children may go almost through a university without cost to his

⁹ See Robert Treat Paine, "Pauperism in Great Cities. Its Four Chief Causes," in *The Public Treatment of Pauperism. Being a Report of the First Section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, Chicago, June, 1893*, p. 47. Mr. Paine looked upon this transfer of the widows and children as a step toward the abolition of outdoor relief. "Taking from the Overseers this class of cases would greatly facilitate its total abolition, or great reduction. This is the special reform which I strenuously advocated in the report of the Associated Charities of Boston in 1882, basing my argument upon the analysis of 938 families in the care of one conference. . . . The result of this analysis was that a few thousand dollars of benevolent funds would replace out-relief to this class of widows and orphans, and provide for them in the best possible way, by judicious aid from a friendly hand, usually not known either to child or neighbor. How long will it be before Charity fully assumes this loving but imperative duty to the widow with her children? . . ."

budget. In many states even the cost of textbooks and other school supplies has been taken off the private budget. Various forms of public recreation are now provided without expense to the private budget. Gradually the care of his widow and his children will be taken off the worker's budget, as well as the care of the aged and the sick.

The more recent statutes providing special forms of public assistance, particularly those statutes providing mothers' aid and old age pensions,¹⁰ have usually been set up outside of the old poor law and have created new kinds of public aid¹¹ much more in line with modern social work theory on this subject. Social workers must now consider the possibility of bringing all of these forms of public assistance together in one social welfare statute. This would mean that the various forms of public aid would be administered in a single administrative organization such as a county bureau of public welfare, which would be staffed by competent social workers. Such a statute would include the following services: (1) general home assistance (provision for the group still dependent on the present "poor relief" or "pauper" laws); (2) mothers' aid or mothers' pensions; (3) old age assistance or old age pensions; and (4) blind pensions.

These different forms of aid are now administered under different statutory provisions and under various kinds of political administrators. What should be a public social service in the hands of social

¹⁰ Blind pensions should perhaps also be mentioned here, but this particular form of relief has been more largely a response to political rather than social workers' demands.

¹¹ See the very excellent report of the U.S. Children's Bureau on *Mothers' Aid, 1931* (Bureau Publication, No. 220): "Twenty years ago mothers' aid or mothers' assistance allowances or mothers' pensions as they were called, represented a new departure in public relief administration. . . . The progress in public provision for dependent children that enables mothers to care for them in their own homes has been one of the most significant developments in the field of public welfare during the last two decades. This development can be seen in improved legislation, increase in the number of families benefiting by such provisions, more liberal local and State funds, and growth in the number of administrative units providing such aid. Back of these developments lie recognition of the essential values of home life in the rearing of children and acceptance of the principle that no child should be separated from his family because of poverty alone."

workers has been carried on by a motley assortment of local officials, by Dogberrys and Bumbles. In Ohio, "counting the officials responsible for administration under the general law and all of the special laws concerned with relief to persons in their homes, there are approximately 6,000 public officials responsible for the administration of some form of outdoor relief."¹² These officials may be "directors of safety" or township trustees or county commissioners. In Illinois, township supervisors are ex-officio overseers of the poor of their towns with statutory authority to "have the care and oversight of all such persons in their town or precinct as are unable to earn a livelihood." If counties are not under township organization, then the county board is to "designate some justice of the peace or some other suitable person" to see that the "county poor" were "suitably relieved, supported and employed."

The newer forms of public assistance—mothers' aid and old age pensions—are administered by lawyers who have become county judges or juvenile court judges through some turn of the wheel of political fortune. In very rare cases have these lawyers any knowledge of the modern science of public welfare and modern methods of social work. They are elected like other political candidates, without the special qualifications that are necessary for dealing with those groups in the community for whom services, as well as cash allowances, are necessary.

THE OLD POOR LAW PRINCIPLES

While the social welfare movement has gone forward, the poor relief statutes have been left almost unchanged. The poor laws represent the social thinking of past generations; and general home relief, particularly in rural and semirural areas, has been very little influenced by the development of social case work and other modern professional standards. Both in their general principles and in their methods of administration these laws are equally out of date.

The principles that are to be found in most of these statutes are also to be found in the English Poor Law of 1601 and have not been greatly modified in the intervening period of more than three hun-

¹² *Report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Part II, p. 99.*

dred years. These principles might be described as follows: (1) the principle of *local responsibility*, (2) the principle that a local unit is responsible only for persons having *legal settlement* in that unit, and (3) the principle of *family responsibility*. A brief examination of each of these principles will show how far removed they are from modern social welfare theory or practice.

1. *Local responsibility* is based on the old theory that the necessary tax-collected funds for a system of public relief must be provided by the local governmental authorities, such as townships and counties. The failure of this principle during the depression years has been merely additional evidence of its failure in normal times. This principle has been handed down from an age when the local unit was vastly more important than it will ever be again. It is a principle that belongs to the days of the oxcart and the stagecoach, and antedates the development of modern methods of transportation; it is a principle that belongs to the days of the scythe and the sickle, and not to the days of the modern threshing machine. In particular, it belongs to the days before the newspaper, the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio and other modern methods of communication which enlarged the horizon of life for all classes of people.

The old principle of local responsibility has resulted in very inadequate standards of public aid and very antiquated methods of giving service to those in need. Local responsibility has meant a good system of relief in one county in a state and a wretched system in another county in the same state; it has meant adequate relief in one township and disgracefully inadequate relief in another township in the same county. Local responsibility has led to corruption and graft among petty officials at the expense of the destitute. It has meant the use of deterrent methods in the giving of relief, such as the publication of the names of those receiving relief in the local newspaper, depriving the person receiving aid of the right to vote,¹³ the humiliation and degradation of unfortunate men, women, and children.

There are 3,072 counties in this country, but there are many more poor relief units than the number of counties. In the New England states, the township system prevails; in the Middle West, there is

¹³ See the "Further Poor Laws Notes" of Mr. Carl A. Heisterman in this *Review*, this issue, p. 43.

usually a mixed township and county system. In a single state like Ohio, for example, there are 1,337 townships, 110 cities, and 88 counties—a total of 1,535 local governments all responsible for some form of relief to persons outside of institutions.¹⁴ How many different poor relief authorities there are in this country and how many different standards of relief, no one knows. The whole system is unorganized, unstandardized, inefficient, and cruelly hard on those who are in need of service.

Large numbers of social workers are now convinced that minimum standards of public assistance, including social service, can only be secured by very radical changes regarding this outworn principle of local responsibility. The man or woman in need of help is a citizen of the United States, of the state, of the county, of the township. He has responsibilities to all of these governments; they all have some responsibility for promoting and maintaining his welfare. The question, therefore, is whether the federal government, the state government, and the local government should not all share in the maintenance of adequate welfare services. If these governments share the expense, they must also share in the maintenance of high standards of administration, which means not merely adequate public assistance funds but social service as well as money or food, clothing, and shelter for those in need.

The inadequacy and inefficiency of local relief services has been everywhere exposed. State and federal authorities have been compelled, during the last few years, to come to the aid of the local authorities. New life is stirring in areas where parochialism has been undisturbed for long periods of time. Active, alert, competent men and women are at work trying to instal new methods. What is to happen next? Are the old local poor relief units to be allowed to drift back into the old ways; or will social workers demand that the state and the federal governments continue to assume some share of the public aid services? And, if so, how shall the share or responsibility of each be apportioned? If we are prepared to insist that federal and state help must be continued, and if we believe that only in this way can the old incompetent system of local relief administration be

¹⁴ See the excellent report on "Ohio's Statutory Provisions for Poor Relief" in *Report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance*, Part II, chaps. v-vii.

brought to an end, a division of responsibility regarding the provision of funds must be promptly worked out.

The share of responsibility for such funds may vary in the different fields of aid. In the field of "general home relief," federal and state governments are now carrying a very large part of the cost; but this has been traditionally the field that belonged almost exclusively to the local governmental units, and it may be a difficult practical problem to persuade state and national authorities to continue to carry an adequate share in this field. It is clearly necessary that both the federal and state authorities continue to contribute some share of the fund needed for general home assistance to prevent the slipping back into the old inadequate, indiscriminate dole system. But the influence of tradition may well make it more difficult to persuade state and federal governments to share in the expense of general home relief than in the newer forms of public aid.

In the field of mothers' aid, federal authorities have not been making any grants, but the state governments have gradually been making appropriations for equalization purposes. In seventeen states, state funds have been provided for mothers' aid, and with the payment of state funds has come some degree of state responsibility for administration.¹⁵ But these mothers' aid systems are greatly in need

¹⁵ See The U.S. Children's Bureau Report on *Mothers' Aid*, 1931: "One of the most significant developments in mothers' aid legislation has been the steady increase in the number of States that have made some provision for State participation in the administration of mothers' aid. . . . In Arizona and New Hampshire allowances and administrative expenses are paid entirely from State funds. The payment of State funds to augment mothers' aid funds made available by the local government has been authorized in 14 States. In New Jersey State funds are available only for the salaries and expenses of the State staff, which is responsible for providing services and supervision to all mothers' aid families." This report shows that complete or major responsibility for the administration has been given to a state agency in eight different states. "In the remaining nine States authorizing payments from State funds, the major responsibility for administration is vested in a local agency, but a designated State agency is responsible for the administration of the State contribution and for more or less supervision of administration by the local agency." It is significant also that in a number of states "that have not granted State funds for mothers' aid the need for developing standards of administration throughout the State has been recognized. State supervision of mothers' aid administration has been provided for in the mothers' aid laws of Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, and North Dakota." More important still is the fact that "in addition to the nine States providing State funds but placing major responsibility for administration on local agencies, 28 States have made administration of mothers' aid entirely a local problem."

of additional funds in all parts of the country. In many places there are long waiting lists, and in other areas the pension grants are deplorably small. A mothers' aid system that will provide adequate family budgets and the necessary social service for these women and children can only be established with substantial help from the federal and state governments.

In regard to old age pensions, a still newer form of public assistance, the states have been even more liberal in the matter of making grants-in-aid to the local authorities. However, many of the old age pension laws have not been supported by adequate appropriations and are very little more than kindly gestures on the statute books.

Old age pensions are now a very timely subject for federal action for three reasons: (a) Traditionally, such pensions are very recent and are only inadequately provided by the local authorities. (b) A national pension law will be one means of breaking up the great relief load that the federal government is now carrying in a somewhat hand-to-mouth method. (c) It will be practicable because popular politically, on account of the labor support for this plan.

If the federal government will provide the bulk of the old age pension funds, as is suggested, leaving the state authorities to provide a further substantial grant, we should really have an old age pension system that will remove large numbers of families from the relief rolls.

In the case of all of these forms of public assistance—home relief, mothers' aid, and old age pensions—the local governments should be given the assistance of grants-in-aid only on condition that the local county bureau of public welfare provide proper social service personnel for the distribution of these funds and for the proper care of the families given assistance.

In connection with attempts to provide for the sharing of the costs of public services between different governmental authorities, the modern principle of equalization should not be overlooked. The relative ability of states or minor governmental authorities in the matter of raising funds must be considered in the distribution of federal funds, and any rule that provides for apparently routine division of responsibility should be made contingent upon the ability of

the states or minor local authorities to raise the necessary funds. Men, women, and children living in the most destitute areas must not continue to be dependent upon those areas for help and special grants-in-aid must be available for areas of special poverty or special distress.

2. Another very ancient principle is that of *legal residence or settlement*. This principle, which followed the legal theory of local responsibility for support, made each local unit responsible only for those who met statutory residence requirements which the local community accepted as constituting eligibility for tax-supported aid. So long as the federal and state governments accept the major responsibility for the cost of relief, the old questions of settlement become unimportant; and social workers should now make a vigorous effort to abolish the principle entirely.

In the past, this principle has led to expensive litigation in all states; and in many of them the time of lawyers, state's attorneys, corporation counsel, attorneys general, and the time of judges of local and supreme courts have been expended upon the question whether some poor man, woman, or child should be assisted by Township A or by Township B. Modern social welfare principles demand that public aid be given promptly to the human being who is in need, regardless of whether or not he has lived in a given unit of local government for any statutory period of time. Minimum standards of relief and service should be available in all localities with the sharing of local responsibility with state and federal governments. The question, therefore, is whether settlement provisions cannot be entirely repealed, and whether the principle of the new social welfare or public assistance law should not be that every person in need should be given assistance wherever and whenever that need exists.

The very excellent reports on the subject of "legal settlement" recently issued by Commissioner Adie of New York and Assistant Commissioner Hirsch show the legal tangle in which this subject is enmeshed.¹⁶ With the federal government's present interest in, and

¹⁶ See bulletins of the New York State Department of Social Welfare, two bulletins on settlement laws of the United States issued in 1933 (see also this *Review*, this issue, p. 186).

responsibility for, relief, this is a very favorable time for social workers to urge the complete abolition of the old settlement regulations.

3. Another antiquated poor law principle that should be abolished is that of *legal family responsibility*—that is, the *prosecution of the members of the family* of the client within certain specified degrees of relationship when these members are unwilling, but are believed to be able, to contribute to the client's support. The moral obligation of helping the members of one's own family is universally recognized; and the importance of maintaining and strengthening family ties is accepted as a fundamental principle of human relations by all social workers. But such relationships and such moral obligations cannot be maintained or strengthened by statutory enactments. The present laws¹⁷ prescribe expensive litigation which is often very painful to those in need of help, which does not yield any returns in family solidarity, and which yields monetary returns which are far below the expense of litigation. All legal provision for such prosecutions should be dropped from the new social welfare statutes dealing with public assistance.

The task before the social workers of America is not an easy one. The old system will die hard. There are many vested interests that will not easily give up the old principle of local responsibility. All the petty officials drawing petty salaries for the incompetent "pauper law" administration of which they are a part will ask their representatives in the various state legislatures to defend the old system.

Greatly respected citizens who have some mysterious faith in the virtues of local taxes and local administrators will oppose any change that increases state and federal responsibility. Constitutional ob-

¹⁷ The states in which the poor laws contain provisions making members of the family legally liable to keep each other off the poor rates include the following: Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky (Adult Children), Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The states in which such liability is not now provided by law include the following: Arizona, Arkansas, (District of Columbia), Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wyoming.

jections will also be raised. But there is an encouraging note in one of the recent decisions¹⁸ of a learned judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Quoting an ancient maxim of the law *Salus populi suprema lex est* ("The welfare of the people is the supreme law"), he described this as the "polestar of police power legislation." The recent Ohio general assembly had attempted, he thought, in the new relief law, to promote the common welfare and alleviate human suffering "by aiding the poor in their distress." The assembly, he said, had "like the Good Samaritan of old . . . extended a helpful hand to those of its people who . . . had become destitute and needful of the necessities of life." This fine decision of the Ohio Court is a challenge to the social workers of this country. If we ask earnestly enough and intelligently enough for the help of such public servants in securing better methods of assistance for the unfortunate people who are our clients, help will surely be given.

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¹⁸ *State ex rel. Ach v. Braden*, 125 Ohio State Reports 307 (1932).

THE FAMILIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN CHICAGO

IN THE winter of 1932-33 over 175,000 families in Chicago received relief from the major relief-giving agencies in the city. These numbers, however, staggering as they are, represent only a fraction of the families in Chicago in which some wage-earner was unemployed. For although there are no exact figures on the number of wage-earners unemployed at this period, the best estimates run from 800,000 to 850,000, and any such number must have meant that over 400,000 families were represented in the group. In other words, it appears that something over half of the families with unemployed wage-earners have not had help from the agencies of Chicago that are concerned with helping the unemployed.

How does it happen that some get along without relief while so many others do not? There appear to be two schools of thought with regard to this question. One school believes that it is because of some superior qualities in the families who do not have relief. In the thinking of adherents of this school the families who get along without relief are more thrifty than their fellows who have to have assistance, more ingenious in finding ways and means to "get by" when the income of the wage-earner has stopped, more ready to use their own resources and to do without, more ready to cut the corners and take their losses. The other school of thought, the one to which the majority of social workers probably belong, doubts the superiority in qualities of character of the families who manage without relief and are inclined to attribute the position on or off the relief rolls to the economic situation of the families concerned rather than to their personal characteristics. Anyone who has been in close contact with the families who have had relief and has seen the efforts many of them made to live on their own resources, and the hardships they endured before they applied to a social agency for help, finds it difficult to believe that anyone could do more than they have done.¹

¹ A series of theses for the M.A. degree in the School of Social Service Administration have brought together evidence of the efforts made by groups of families on relief to live without help from the community.

Such evidence, however, is not convincing to many people because it is based entirely on the behavior of those who have had help and tells nothing of those who have managed on their own resources. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the evidence for both schools of thought by a comparison of a group of families on the relief rolls with a group in which some member was unemployed or only partially employed who had not had relief.

The data for this comparison were collected in the autumn of 1932 in a study made under the auspices of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago.² In selected districts in Chicago in which the unemployment rates were known to be high, every fiftieth household was visited; and every one of these households in which a member of the family had been unemployed or underemployed for a period of three months since January, 1930, was asked specific questions about how they had lived during the period of unemployment or underemployment. The field work was done by workers who were or had been students in the School of Social Service Administration and had had previous case-work experience or supervised field work. After the information was obtained from the family, the case was cleared through the Social Service Exchange; and whenever a family had a record of recent registration by a relief agency that kept records, the record was consulted and the data given by the family checked by the data on the record.

The information obtained from the families was the kind that could be obtained with reasonable accuracy by skilled interviewers. It dealt with concrete, tangible items, such as the debts to grocer, butcher, milkman, the amount borrowed, goods sold, and previous living conditions. No attempt was made to learn the character of the families except as it was registered in behavior with regard to specific problems. Data were obtained from 1,003 families, of whom 345 had relief and 658 had not had relief at the time the study was made. Accordingly, the two groups of families to be compared are the 345 relief families and the 658 non-relief families.

The first, and in fact the greatest, observable difference between the two groups of families is in the intensity with which they have

² A complete report of the findings of this study is in preparation.

been affected by unemployment. Of the 658 families who had not had relief, 369, or 56 per cent of the group, had had no period in which some member of the family had not worked at least on a part-time basis, and 147 families, or 22 per cent, had had one or more wage-earner steadily employed at full-time work for the entire period. Among the 345 families on relief, however, only 49, or 14 per cent, had had no period of total unemployment and only 18, or 5 per cent, had had any wage-earner who remained at work for the entire period.

TABLE I
DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDER-
EMPLOYMENT—ALL FAMILIES

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT OR UNDEREMPLOYMENT	ALL FAMILIES*	
	Percentage Having Specified Period of Unemployment or Underemployment	
	Relief	Non-relief
Three years or over.	24	23
Two years or over.	64	58
One year or over.	90	83
Less than one year.	10	16
Unknown.		1

* 1,003 families; 345 relief, 658 non-relief.

There is obviously some difference between the situation of the families with a period of complete unemployment and that of the families who always had some member working at least part time. The difference, however, may not be very great if the wage-earners work a very small portion of the time or even if the worker working full time is little more than a child. Accordingly, it is worth looking at other differences between the two groups of families, those on relief and the others. But it also seems significant to compare not only the total groups of relief and non-relief families but also the portion of each that had had a period of total unemployment.

Table I shows that there is very little difference in the length of time over which the two groups of families had been wrestling with the problem of unemployment.

There are indeed some differences in the percentages who had had some member unemployed for three years or for two years, but the differences are so slight as to be obviously insignificant. There is a greater difference between the percentages who had faced the problem for less than a year, 16 per cent of the non-relief families as compared with 10 per cent of those on relief, and this difference is almost great enough to be significant.³

Table II shows that for the families who had had a period of total unemployment there was likewise little difference between the relief

TABLE II
DURATION OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND OF EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM—
FAMILIES HAVING TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT

LENGTH OF PERIOD	FAMILIES HAVING TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT*			
	Percentage Having Total Unemployment of Specified Period		Percentage Having Employment Problem of Specified Period	
	Relief	Non-Relief	Relief	Non-Relief
Three years or over.....	9	14	24	25
Two years or over.....	33	36	64	57
One year or over.....	66	59	90	82
Less than one year.....	33	38	10	16
Unknown.....	1	3	.....	2

* 585 families; 296 relief, 289 non-relief.

and non-relief families either in the duration of the period of total unemployment or in that of the period which includes both total and partial unemployment.

This lack of difference between the families on relief and those who had no relief in respect to the duration of the employment problem indicates that the difference between the two groups is not entirely in the severity with which they have been touched by unemployment. There remains the question of whether the non-relief families are distinguished from the others by superior economic resources or by greater willingness to endure hardship.

³ The standard error of the difference is 2.3. The observed difference, 6, thus lies just within the range of three times the standard error.

FAMILIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN CHICAGO 21

The relative economic position of the two groups of families is indicated by data on wage-earners and dependents in normal times, on contact with social agencies, on housing conditions, and on tangible assets at the beginning of the period of unemployment.⁴

The relevant facts about wage-earners and dependents and previous contact with social agencies are shown in Table III. For the whole group the figures suggest very clearly that the families not on

TABLE III
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES REPORTING SPECIFIED FACTS INDICATIVE OF
ECONOMIC CONDITION PRIOR TO UNEMPLOYMENT

	ALL FAMILIES*		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT†	
	Percentage Reporting Each Fact		Percentage to Which Each Fact Applied	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Only one wage-earner.....	58	45	62	65
Children under sixteen.....	72	50	73	50
Two or more children.....	53	26	53	23
Previous record at relief agency.....	10	3	9	3
Previous record at any social agency..	27	13	25	11

* 1,003 families; 345 relief, 658 non-relief.

† 585 families; 296 relief, 289 non-relief.

relief had been in a better economic position than those who had relief. They had more wage-earners and fewer children; a smaller percentage had been known to social agencies, either relief agencies or others, prior to the period of unemployment.⁵

Between the two groups who had experienced total unemployment the differences are equally striking with the single exception of their equipment with wage-earners. That exception is easily ex-

⁴ An attempt was made to test economic position by the occupation of the chief wage-earner. Unfortunately, there is no accepted classification of occupations that coincides with economic classification. An attempt to work out such a classification was made, but the results are not considered trustworthy enough to use in this paper.

⁵ In all cases the differences between the two groups are so large that they are not likely to be due to the size of the samples. The standard errors are as follows: 3.4; 3.3; 3.2; 1.5; 2.6.

plained and the difference between the two groups is too small to count. The groups to be compared are smaller, but even so the differences are great enough to be significant.⁶

The figures given in Table IV on certain housing conditions found in the two groups likewise suggest that the families on relief were somewhat poorer than the others.

TABLE IV
FAMILIES REPORTING SPECIFIED HOUSING CONDITION
PRIOR TO UNEMPLOYMENT

HOUSING CONDITION	ALL FAMILIES				FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT			
	Families for Whom Information Was Obtained		Percentage Reporting Condition Existed		Number for Whom Information Was Obtained		Percentage Reporting Condition Existed	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Basement dwelling.....	345	658	7	3	296	289	6	4
Stove heat.....	323	573	67	45	277	244	65	45
Overcrowding*.....	336	629	43	26	288	271	44	28
Dwelling of four rooms or less.....	334	628	53	39	286	271	54	42
Monthly rental under \$30	246†	331†	68	44	209‡	131‡	67	51

* More than one person per room.

† The total numbers renting were 256 relief families, 331 non-relief families.

‡ The numbers renting were 217 relief families, 144 non-relief families.

As Table IV shows, whether we look at the group as a whole or at the 585 families who had had a period of total unemployment, more of the relief families had been living in basements, more had had stove heat, more had lived in overcrowded conditions, more had lived in small dwellings, and more had lived in low-rent dwellings. In some cases, however, the differences between the two groups are not great and might very probably have arisen from fluctuations of sampling. This is true for the occupancy of basement apartments both for all the families and for those who had had total unemploy-

⁶ The standard errors here are: children under sixteen, 4.0; two or more children, 4.0; record at relief agency, 1.9; record at any agency, 3.1.

ment. It is true with regard to small dwellings and low rentals for the families who had a period of total unemployment.⁷

A further qualification of the figures should also be noted. With regard to every item except basement apartments there were a number of families from whom no information was obtained, and in every case that number was greater proportionately for the non-relief families. To see what difference this could possibly make in the conclusions to be drawn from these figures the improbable assumption was made that all these cases in the non-relief group had the condition under consideration and all those in the relief group did not have it. Under these assumptions, in the group as a whole there would still be a significant difference between the relief and the non-relief families with regard to the reliance upon stoves for heating, overcrowding, and low rental. For the smaller group who had total unemployment, however, none of the differences noted would be significant.⁸

All this means is that some doubt is cast on the significance of the differences in housing conditions of the two groups of families. But the assumption that all the unknowns would go to minimize the difference is, to say the least, unlikely. Furthermore, the consistency with which even the relatively small differences are in one direction increases the significance of the individual differences. It seems safe

⁷ The standard errors are as follows:

	Total Group	Group with Total Un- employment
Basement.....	1.4	1.8
Stove heat.....	3.4	4.3
Overcrowding.....	3.1	3.8
Four rooms or less.....	3.3	4.2
Rental under \$30.....	4.1	5.4

⁸ The differences under the conditions assumed and the standard errors are given below:

	ALL FAMILIES		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT	
	Observed Difference	Standard Error	Observed Difference	Standard Error
Stove heat.....	10	3.3	6	4.0
Overcrowding.....	13	3.2	10	3.9
Four rooms or less.....	9	3.3	7	4.1
Rental under \$30.....	16	4.4	8	6.1

to conclude, therefore, that there was probably a real difference between the relief and the non-relief families in the quality of their housing before their period of unemployment and that poor housing conditions were more frequently found among families who later had relief.

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED ASSET AT THE
BEGINNING OF PERIOD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

ASSET	ALL FAMILIES*		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT†	
	Percentage with Each Asset		Percentage with Each Asset	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Home, free or incumbered..	18	43	18	37
Home, without mortgage...	1	12	1	11
Apartments in addition to home.....	9	27	9	23
Insurance of any kind.....	79	83	79	79
Insurance with loan value...	27	36	22	34
Other form of savings.....	43	52	45	61

* 1,003 families; 345 relief, 658 non-relief.

† 585 families; 206 relief, 658 non-relief.

Other evidence about the relative economic position of the two groups of families is found by the report of certain tangible assets in their possession at the beginning of the period of unemployment. Table V shows that in most of the assets recorded the non-relief families were distinctly better off than the relief families.⁹ Particularly striking are the differences between the percentage who owned their homes without mortgage and between the percentages who owned other apartments in addition to their own. An exception to

⁹ The standard errors here are as follows:

	All Families	Families with Total Unemployment
Ownership of home.....	3.2	3.0
Home without mortgage.....	1.8	1.9
Other apartments.....	2.7	3.0
Insurance.....	2.6	Not computed
Insurance-loan value.....	3.1	3.7
Other savings.....	3.3	4.1

the general rule is in the percentage carrying insurance, where there is no appreciable difference between the relief and the non-relief families. There is more difference with respect to insurance that had a loan value, but even here the differences are hardly too large to be accounted for by the fluctuations of sampling. The lack of difference in this respect, however, does not throw doubts on the general conclusion that the group of families who had not had relief were in a better economic position prior to their unemployment, because it is a well-known fact that insurance is carried even by the very poor.

TABLE VI
CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF
ASSETS (HOME, INSURANCE, OTHER SAVINGS)

NUMBER OF TYPES OF ASSETS	ALL FAMILIES*		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT†	
	Per Cent Distribution		Per Cent Distribution	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Total.....	100	100	100	100
None.....	12	7	11	9
One.....	45	26	45	26
Two.....	34	44	35	44
Three.....	9	23	9	21

* 1,003 families; 345 relief, 658 non-relief.

† 585 families; 296 relief, 289 non-relief.

Possibly the significance of their assets comes out even more clearly by looking not at each singly but at the combination. In Table VI ownership of home, free or incumbered, with or without other apartments, is considered one type of asset, insurance a second, and all other forms of investments or savings a third.

As this shows, in the whole group 67 per cent of the non-relief families had more than one of these assets compared with 43 per cent of the relief families, and 23 per cent of the non-relief families had all three, while only 9 per cent of the relief families were in this position. Similarly, in the group of families who had total unemployment 56 per cent of the relief families had not more than one of

these assets as compared with 35 per cent of the non-relief families, and, again, 9 per cent of the relief families and 21 per cent of the non-relief families had all three.

When all these evidences of economic status are considered together, there can be little doubt that the families not on relief were on the whole in a somewhat better economic position before their period of unemployment than the families who were on the relief rolls and accordingly had made somewhat better provision for the traditional rainy day. It should be noted, however, that the differences are not always large and that the figures do not suggest that

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES USING SPECIFIED MEANS
OF LIVING WITHOUT RELIEF

MEANS OF LIVING	ALL FAMILIES*		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT†	
	Percentage Using Each		Percentage Using Each	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Credit.....	88	39	88	43
Loans.....	48	34	49	36
Help of friends, relatives....	35	24	38	37
Sale of goods.....	9	6	10	9

* 1,003 families; 345 relief, 658 non-relief.

† 585 families; 296 relief, 289 non-relief.

the group on relief is composed largely of families who have been chronically dependent or on the border between dependence and independence. On the contrary, they point to a group that has normally been self-sustaining and that contains many who lived well above the poverty line as it is defined by current standards.

If the evidence from this group of 1,003 families indicates that those who kept off relief had previously been a bit higher up the economic scale than those who had relief, what does it indicate about the greater willingness of the non-relief families to use their own resources for living or to endure hardship rather than ask help of the relief agencies?

The information obtained about use of their own resources is as-

sembled in Table VII. This shows that in whole group the percentages of relief families who used credit, who borrowed money, who got help from friends and relatives, and even who sold some of their household goods to get money are strikingly larger than the corresponding percentages of the non-relief families. Perhaps a fairer comparison here is between the two groups who had a period of total unemployment. The differences between the relief and the non-relief families in this situation are far less pronounced, but inter-

TABLE VIII
FAMILIES EXPERIENCING SPECIFIED LOSS OR MISFORTUNE

LOSS OR MISFORTUNE	ALL FAMILIES				FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT			
	Possible Number		Percentage Experiencing Each		Possible Number		Percentage Experiencing Each	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
Loss of some insurance . . .	273	546	64	23	234	229	65	30
Loss of all insurance	273	546	40	8	234	229	38	15
Loss of home	61	279	33	4	51	108	37	5
Loss of goods bought on instalments	67	78	28	9	55	32	31	19
Gas or electricity turned off	345	658	40	16	296	289	42	6
Evictions	345	658	17	1	296	289	18	2
Notices of eviction	345	658	12	2	296	289	11	2
Change for worse in housing	345	658	38	25	296	289	38	29
Insufficient food, heat, clothing	345	658	44	10	296	289	47	15

estingly enough they are all in the direction indicating greater use of their own resources by families who had to have relief in the end.

Possibly even more striking than the data on use of their own resources are those on the losses or misfortunes that the families have sustained, given in Table VIII. It will be noted that in this table for most types of misfortunes the possible numbers are the total in the group, but for some types the possible numbers are much smaller. Thus the percentage losing insurance is based on the number carrying insurance, the percentage losing their homes on the number of

home-owners, and the percentage losing goods from instalment purchases on the number who were making such purchases at the time their unemployment began. For the most part the meaning of the terms used in describing the misfortune or loss are self-explanatory. "Change for worse in housing," however, may not be entirely clear. It covers both changes occasioned by moving into inferior quarters and those caused by "doubling up" so that the number of persons per room was increased. "Insufficiency of food, heat or clothing" was determined both by the families' own reports and by the observation of the investigator.

As already indicated, Table VIII shows a striking difference between the percentages of relief and non-relief families who had experienced each type of misfortune; and always the percentages are larger for the relief families, both among the whole group and among the smaller number who had had a period of total unemployment. The greatest differences are in the percentages of home-owners losing their homes, where the figures are 37 per cent as compared with 5 per cent, in the percentage being evicted, 18 per cent and 2 per cent, and in the percentage whose gas or electricity was turned off, 42 per cent of the relief families and 6 per cent of the non-relief families. It is outside the scope of the present paper to discuss the tragedies that lie behind this array of figures, but those who believe that there has been no suffering during the present depression and that the families on relief are being "coddled" would do well to ponder the figures recorded here.

A somewhat different approach to the problem of the hardships suffered by the families gives results that suggest with equal conclusiveness that the suffering was greater among the families who had relief than among those who did not. In Table IX the families are grouped into classes based on all the information obtained in the interview, with those who suffered the least in Class A, those who suffered the most in Class D. Obviously this classification rests on the judgment of those who put the families into the various classes, and no claim is made that the numbers in each class are exactly correct. But the differences between the families on and not on relief are so great that a large amount even of biased error could be admitted without changing the general conclusion. Particular sig-

nificance attaches to the differences between the extreme classes, as these were easiest to classify. It will be observed that only 2 families in the relief group, or less than 1 per cent, were classed with those who suffered the least, while 179 families, or 27 per cent, of those not on relief were in this class, and that in the relief group 51 per cent were classed with those who suffered most as compared with 9 per cent not on relief.

TABLE IX
CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES BY SEVERITY OF SUFFERING

CLASS BASED ON SEVERITY OF SUFFERING	ALL FAMILIES*		FAMILIES WITH TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT†	
	Per Cent Distribution		Per Cent Distribution	
	Relief	Non-relief	Relief	Non-relief
All classes.....	100	100	100	100
A. Least suffering.....	1	27	1	18
B. Intermediate class.....	4	44	4	41
C. Intermediate class.....	44	19	40	26
D. Greatest suffering.....	51	9	55	13
Not classified.....		1		2

* 1,003 families, of which 345 are relief, 658 non-relief.

† 585 families, of which 296 are relief, 289 non-relief.

In the group of families with some period of total unemployment the differences are less, but even here they are sufficiently striking, as even a glance at Table IX shows.

The conclusions to be drawn from this comparison of the families who had and those who had not had relief in a group of one thousand with unemployed wage-earners can be very briefly stated. The figures go far to support the theory that those who get along without relief are as a group distinguished from those who get help, by easier economic circumstances in the past and a less distressing immediate situation. They lend no support whatever to the contention that the families not on relief are more ready to live on their own resources or to endure hardships than those who have had help. A thousand families is of course a small number to prove or disprove a theory.

But it should be noted that the relief and the non-relief families in this study came from the same districts of the city, so that differences in previous economic position would be minimized and presumably differences in personal characteristics magnified. Thus while one thousand families may not be sufficient to dispose finally of the theory of the inherent superiority of the families who are not on relief, they are sufficient to create a strong presumption that the theory is dead. And may its ghost stay in its grave until equally conclusive evidence indicates that it has a right to live.

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FINANCING OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF BY TOWNSHIPS IN ILLINOIS

I

THE stress of administering unemployment relief in Illinois has brought into prominence the local welfare organization of the state. The financial burden of this new situation has at this same time made the method of raising local funds and their adequacy to meet the relief problem of particular importance. The present article is a review and a discussion of the financial results of the local responsibility for unemployment relief.

In the state of Illinois, the township was the original welfare unit and its earliest function was the care of the poor, but an "act to revise the law in relation to paupers," approved in 1874, provided that by local option the counties could place the financial responsibility for the care of the poor, including both institutional and non-institutional relief, on the county itself rather than on the township. The provision for financial centralization nevertheless did not centralize relief administrative responsibility, which remained with the township. By the year 1930 the transfer of financial responsibility had taken place in a majority of the counties of the state.

Thus it was that the financial burden of unemployment relief, as it developed in the fall of 1930, fell on the county; for, although considerable private money was available for relief purposes, the ultimate responsibility for the relief of destitution lay with the township supervisors, who in turn billed the county for the necessary costs. This antiquated system of meeting the problem of destitution, which was unsatisfactory even when destitution was of "normal" proportions, was certainly not fitted to carry the present burden of unemployment relief. Such a problem could be handled adequately only by state and probably national co-operation with the local unit.

The need for so considerable an expenditure on unemployment relief as would necessitate a state- and nation-wide program, however, could hardly have been foreseen in September of 1930. Appro-

priations for pauper relief for the year 1931 which the counties made at that time in but few instances anticipated at all adequately the necessary costs of such relief. The result was that a number of rural counties and almost all industrialized ones went heavily in debt to cover the disbursements for relief during the winter of 1930-31. Not only were the expenditures greater than the appropriations, but these expenditures were in many instances so large that even transfer of county funds from other accounts was insufficient to pay them. One county, for example, which is able to raise approximately \$165,000 a year by a twenty-five-cent tax rate for general purposes,¹ was \$85,000 in debt. To meet these increasingly heavy expenditures counties were forced to anticipate their 1932 taxes, in some instances, to the limit, and not infrequently to leave bills indefinitely unpaid. As late as the fall of 1932 many counties, owing chiefly to the obligations incurred for poor relief before July, 1931, were still months behind in their financing.

If the counties could not carry the relief load of 1930-31 on a twenty-five-cent tax-rate limitation, it is certain that they never could have met the needs of the next two years. Township levies for poor relief alone in some twenty-seven counties, which have been studied,² averaged 17 cents per \$100 valuation in 1931 and increased to 23 cents per \$100 valuation in 1932. But despite the fact that the townships alone levied for relief almost as much as the counties could have legally levied for all general purposes, it was necessary by the summer of 1933 for these twenty-seven counties to request and obtain from the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission more than ten million dollars for unemployment relief.

There were, in 1931, two possible solutions to the financial difficulties which faced the counties of Illinois. The first of these was the upward revision of the twenty-five-cent limit on the county tax rate

¹ Counties could levy for general county purposes at a maximum rate of \$0.25 per \$100 valuation. Counties receive some additional revenue from the fees. In addition to the levies for general purposes, special levies can be made for the following purposes: to pay interest and amortization on the county debt, to build and maintain roads and bridges, to provide and maintain a tuberculosis sanitarium (limit of \$0.10), and to provide revenue for payment of mothers pensions (limit of \$0.3½). Poor relief, however, had to be carried within the county's levy for general purposes along with the regular expenditures of the county for courts, jails, blind relief, etc.

² See p. 36 below.

for general purposes, or, as an alternative, permission to the county to levy a special tax rate for poor-relief purposes, a solution which would have been in line with the manner in which the situation was being handled at that time.

The second possibility was based on the fact that townships had no legal restrictions on their tax rate, and could, therefore, levy for the care of the poor as much as was economically feasible. This solution was put into effect by Senate Bill No. 723, known as the Finn Bill, which was passed in the regular biennial session of the Fifty-seventh General Assembly, and approved in June, 1931. This law provided for a repeal of the county optional clause of the act of 1874, and put both the duty and the financial responsibility for the care of the poor once more directly on the townships. This law further provided that a county maintaining either a county home or a hospital, or both, might continue to operate these institutions, charging each township overseer of the poor for the residents of his township maintained in such institutions.

This bill reversed a definite trend of development in Illinois which had tended to make the county the welfare unit. Not only had the county since 1874 become responsible for general poor relief, as already noted, but it had also become responsible for a number of specific welfare functions. In 1875 the county was charged with the transportation of paupers to state institutions; in 1899 with the care of neglected and delinquent children; in 1903 with the care of the blind; in 1904 with the burial of indigent soldiers; in 1913 with the providing of pensions to mothers. In the case of mothers' and blind pensions, the state was to supply a part of the revenue. In addition to these obligatory functions, the county was also authorized to provide at its own option a detention home for neglected and delinquent children, and a tuberculosis sanitarium.

Since the passage of the Finn Bill, responsibility for certain welfare functions, such as relief to the blind, care of mothers, care of dependent and delinquent children, and the burial of indigent soldiers has remained with the county. The county has also continued to provide such optional welfare service as caring for tuberculosis patients. In some cases the division of responsibility is not clearly defined. If a county has no tuberculosis sanitarium, for instance, the

care of tubercular patients lies with the township, or if a child is not declared dependent or delinquent by court, the township is responsible for its care. In addition to these specific welfare functions, the county has retained many others on a *de facto* basis, such as various health services, hospitalization, a county doctor, and the care of transient paupers. Some counties, moreover, have elected to carry a portion of the county home expenses on a permanent basis, while others have maintained their county homes for as long as eighteen months after the passage of the Finn Bill without any payments from the townships.

The resulting confusion of obligation and responsibility between county and township has provided, it will be agreed, ineffective organization for administration of the social services. If the bill was not designed to improve the welfare organization of the state of Illinois, what, then, were the reasons for its passage?

Two reasons are given for the decision to provide poor funds by a shift of the obligations to another governmental unit rather than by a change in limitation on tax rates. The first of these is that it would have been extremely difficult to get the General Assembly to remove any limitation on tax rates already made, or to provide a special tax rate for a special purpose. While it is clear that there can be no very rational basis for this procedure, since boards of supervisors are hardly likely to be greater spendthrifts than town boards, and, since after all, the same taxpayers pay both town and county taxes, it may have been felt that allowing a different governmental unit to levy taxes for a given purpose was more innocuous than providing an additional levy by the county. The other current explanation of the passage of the Finn Bill is that its passage is a matter of local jealousies. It is true that the bill, as passed, did relieve rural communities of the responsibility for meeting the heavy relief needs of urban centers. This was surely not an unimportant consideration.

Whatever may have been the reasons for the shift in financial responsibility for poor relief which the Finn Bill caused, the time of its passage was certainly not well chosen. The Bill shifted the responsibility immediately, but made no provision by which townships could raise money to meet the immediate demands upon them.

In a few exceptional counties where the townships were still responsible for poor relief, and in a few townships which were coincident in their boundaries with cities, funds could be provided, but the great majority of townships had already made their regular levies for 1931 in April of that year, and naturally had included no provision for poor relief. Only very ineffective methods for raising funds were available to the townships, until the General Assembly granted permission for a levy to be made in December, 1931.

Before this levy was made, townships were forced either to use regular town funds for relief when any such were available or to borrow from other funds such as the road and bridge funds or, far more frequently, to beg the merchants to grant them credit. Such credit was granted not against any taxes definitely levied, but only against the general credit of the townships. Even after the special levy in December, 1931, merchants continued to carry large accounts of township orders, and, in fact, were not reimbursed from July, 1931, until the time of tax collections in the spring of 1932. Townships were not relieved of their legal obligations to give relief because they had no funds,³ and under the circumstances did the best they could.

II

An intensive survey by the statistical department of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, covering the period between October, 1931, and September 30, 1932, discovered, in part, the financial results of this first year of township responsibility for poor relief. Although this survey was limited to twenty-nine counties, these counties include all the larger industrial cities, such as Waukegan, Rockford, Aurora, Joliet, Decatur, East St. Louis, and Rock Island; the coal-mining counties such as Franklin, Williamson, and Saline, and, in addition, a number of counties largely rural, or rural with a relatively small industrial section, such as Grundy, Bureau, De Witt, and Edgar. The survey was further limited in that in each county figures were obtained only for those townships which received, on or before October 1, 1932, state or federal funds to supplement their own resources. These were, however, the urban townships, and al-

³ *Town of Kankakee v. McGrew*, 178 Ill. 74; 52 N.E. 893 (1899).

though they represented only 59 per cent of all the townships in the twenty-nine counties, they contained 88 per cent of their population.

The first step which most of the townships could make toward providing relief funds, as we have already noted, was the special levy of December, 1931. The total poor levy made at this time, in the selected townships in the twenty-seven of these twenty-nine counties with township organization, was \$2,499,676.56. This represented an average rate of 17 cents per \$100 valuation, but rates varied widely between counties, ranging from 4 cents to 42 cents. These townships increased their levies for poor relief in the spring of 1932 to \$3,046,155, which represented a rate of 23 cents per \$100 valuation. This levy was collectable in 1933, but could be anticipated any time after April, 1932. Although the increase in the total 1932 *levy* over that of 1931 was 22 per cent, the lowering of assessed valuations resulted in an increase in the average 1932 *rate* of 35 per cent. If the point of view be taken that the 1931 special levies were intended to provide poor relief over a period of eighteen months, from July, 1931, through December, 1932, while the 1932 levies were for the calendar year 1933, this 22 per cent increase in the levies seems considerably larger.

The townships provided their actual relief funds chiefly from the collections of their 1931 special levies. The combined statement of the situation in the townships, which appears in Table I, shows that only 36 per cent of the money spent for relief was obtained by borrowing. The part of the borrowing done by open accounts was larger than that by formal anticipation. Part of these accounts was due merchants, but the larger part was due the county for county-home expenses. Although the special 1931 levies totaled 93 per cent of the amounts spent, considerable tax delinquency, plus the fact that some of the income from the 1931 levies was actually used before October 1, 1931, and the fact that the county treasurers had not made their 1932 tax settlements by September 30, 1932, made it necessary to borrow 36 per cent of the amount spent. Indication from the figures that the anticipation (formal or informal) of the 1932 levy was nearly one-third of the total exaggerates the importance of the obligations outstanding against the townships at that time, both because more

money from 1932 taxes was still due and because the funds on hand amounted to approximately \$200,000.

Of this \$2,701,500 spent by the townships on relief, \$2,129,800 was expended on "unemployment relief."⁴ In spite of the strenuous financial efforts made by the townships to provide such a sum, they were able to furnish, during the year ending September 30, 1932, only 33 per cent of their relief requirements. Thirty-nine per cent

TABLE I

COMBINED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE OF PUBLIC RELIEF FOR TOWNSHIPS IN RELIEF AREAS OF 27 DOWNSTATE ILLINOIS COUNTIES COMBINED FOR THE PERIOD OCTOBER 1, 1931, THROUGH SEPTEMBER 30, 1932

Received from 1931 pauper levy	\$1,815,500	
Net anticipation of 1932 levy over that of 1931 levy ...	424,200	
Total income from pauper levies		\$2,239,700
Income from other tax sources		113,300
Other income		26,800
Net borrowings from county, merchants, etc.		554,900
Total income available for relief		\$2,934,700
Less surplus cash September 30, 1932, over October 1, 1931	206,200	
Less expenses and losses	27,000	
		233,200
Expended on relief		\$2,701,500

of these requirements, on the other hand, were provided by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, an organization which was in existence only seven of the twelve months. It was funds of the Commission, in fact, which saved the townships in Illinois from financial chaos that year. Without such funds the townships either would have fallen so heavily in debt that taxes to cover these debts would have been extremely high or would have had to abandon the provision of relief, despite their legal responsibility.

Relief legislation, since October 1, 1932, has further relieved

⁴ This includes work relief, shelter relief, almost all family relief, and emergency hospitalization. Family relief in the form of pensions is excluded. In general, "unemployment relief" was taken to include all relief which was for the most part due to the current economic situation and which can be abandoned when the present unemployment emergency has passed.

townships from the pressure of relief on their general-property-tax funds. If, subsequent to October 31, 1932, townships in the twenty-seven counties covered by the survey had anticipated 1932 taxes to the maximum, they might have provided an even larger amount of relief funds than they had in the previous year. Levies in the spring of 1933 equal to those made in the spring of 1932, with the anticipation of 1933 levies equal to that of 1932, would have furnished greater rather than less funds for the year ending September, 1933. Townships, however, have made no such effort toward providing their own unemployment-relief funds. It is estimated from field reports to the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission that these same townships in the four months of November, 1932—February, 1933, spent \$376,300 for unemployment relief from general-property-tax funds, whereas, on the basis of their expenditure in the year ending September 30, 1932, they should have spent more than \$700,000 for unemployment relief from this source. During this four-month period the townships furnished less than 9 per cent of the funds where they had furnished 33 per cent of the funds in the previous year. At the present time they are spending less than \$150,000 per month from township funds.

This constriction of the importance of the general-property-tax funds of the township in furnishing relief funds was made possible, first, by the availability of funds from the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, and, in the second place, by the relief legislation of the fourth special session of the Fifty-seventh General Assembly which made available to townships in many instances funds which could offset the general-property-tax funds. Most important of this legislation was Senate Bill No. 30, which provided for the diversion of the balances of motor-fuel-tax funds for relief. These funds were administered, in some counties, through the county emergency relief committees, which had been created by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, but in many other counties went directly to the township supervisors who could use these funds to supplant the general-property-tax. These supervisors, indeed, not only used this money for unemployment relief, but also to meet county home expenses, hospitalization, and other expenses not strictly unemployment relief. Despite the fact that it was contrary to the intent of

the act and to its interpretation by the attorney-general, bills of all kinds incurred prior to the date of the passage of the act were paid from these motor-fuel-tax funds in some counties.

At the present time, only a very few townships with heavy relief loads are furnishing any considerable part of their own relief funds. Where townships are making this effort it is chiefly due to vigorous inducement by the field staff of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and by the local county emergency relief committees. In some counties, however, all township funds are still necessary to pay back bills, and it must be admitted that further anticipation, either formal or informal, would be extremely difficult if not impossible. The financial status of the banks and the merchants is generally inadequate to extend credit any longer to local political units.

It is in a sense true, therefore, that the very severity of the relief problem in the state of Illinois has relieved the townships from the overwhelming financial burden which the Finn Bill would otherwise have placed on them. The situation might have been considerably worse for the townships if the relief problem, particularly in Cook County, had never been on the whole so severe as to necessitate the creation of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission and the provision of state and federal funds. The last two years have hardly been a fair test of the ability of townships to finance "pauper" relief.

III

The ability of the townships to finance relief is not, in fact, in itself a test of the desirability of the Finn Bill. This success or failure in the last two years has been a question of the success or failure of the general property tax itself rather than of a choice between different methods of levying such a tax. It has yet to be determined what proportion of the burden of relief should be borne by a general property tax, or if, indeed, it should be borne at all by such a tax. On the whole, townships did the best they could to carry their own relief loads.

Judgment of the Finn Bill, however, is possible on at least two grounds: first, the effect of the Bill on the administration of relief; second, the effect of the Bill upon the distribution of the burden of taxation. The Finn Bill itself, of course, did not change the local

administration of relief, the inefficiency of which may be the most serious charge against township responsibility for the care of the poor. Prior to the passage of the act, relief was administered either by township supervisors or by overseers of the poor appointed by these supervisors. The county was the unit for the raising of funds for relief, but not for administering this relief.

The Bill, however, while not changing the administrative set-up, has made more difficult the obtaining of an efficient administrative set-up, since it has probably delayed and impeded efforts to obtain a centralized administration of relief. If the counties had remained financially responsible for such relief, they might have been more amenable to movements for improvement in its administration.

Not only has the Finn Bill prevented possible programs for improvement in the administration of relief to families, but it has provided a great impediment to any state-wide organization of welfare work. The township supervisor is responsible to no person but the town board, and he makes no central reporting of information concerning the number of persons given relief and the cost of this relief. It has, for example, been very difficult to plan a program of furnishing state funds to take care of unemployment-relief needs when these financial data were lacking. At the present time the Federal Relief Administration is demanding a great deal of these data, and in order to collect them the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission is forced to expend considerable effort and money. The information must be solicited individually from some fourteen hundred supervisors. It is clear that a more carefully planned welfare program for the state of Illinois is impossible until some change is made in the township's administration of relief.

Perhaps more important than the question of administration is the problem of the effects of the Finn Bill on the spread of the tax burden. The question of the desirability or undesirability of the Finn Bill hinges quite clearly on the problem of whether relief burdens should be spread according to the ability to bear, or concentrated according to need. Before the Finn Bill was passed, the cost of poor relief was spread equally over all the property of the county. At the present time each township in the county not only may have a different rate of taxation for poor-relief purposes, but usually does. One

of the most striking types of difference between townships is that between the urban and the rural townships.

One of the main factors behind the passage of the Finn Bill, as we have already noted, was the desire of rural townships to avoid assuming the burden of supporting the poor, who were, particularly at the beginning of the depression, concentrated chiefly in the urban townships. An analysis of the poor levies in urban and rural townships indicates that in so far as this was the purpose of the Bill it was a successful piece of legislation. In the urban townships,⁵ in twenty-seven counties with township organization the average 1931 pauper levy rate was 21 cents per \$100 valuation; while in the rural townships, the rate (for those recorded) was only 8 cents per \$100 valuation. If figures for all the rural townships in the state were included, the rate would probably be even lower. Average levies of 1932 showed a similar difference in the rates, with twenty-nine cents the average levy in urban townships and ten cents in the rural ones. Only three counties in 1931 and four in 1932 had a higher average pauper levy rate in their rural than in their urban townships.

There is an even more glaring variation in the levies made for poor-relief purposes between the different counties in the state. The range for the twenty-seven counties for the 1931 levy was from 3.9 cents to 42.2 cents per \$100 valuation, and for the 1932 levy from 7.8 cents to 61.5 cents per \$100 valuation. The Finn Bill, of course, has no direct relation to these variations between counties. It would, however, be much easier for a state-wide agency controlling supplementary relief funds to secure a reasonable uniformity between counties if responsibility for making levies in these counties was not completely decentralized.

These statistics show wide variations between townships in a single county and between different counties. It is not true, however, that an absolute uniform rate over an entire county, or the entire state, would necessarily mean that relief burdens were spread according to ability to bear. It is always possible that some counties may have a much smaller per capita wealth than others, so that a rate of taxation bears more heavily upon them than would the same

⁵ The margin between urban and rural townships is set at a population of five thousand.

rate in another community. This may, indeed, be generally true as between urban and rural townships. It does not seem reasonable, however, that all the differences in the rates which the statistics show can be justified by the differences in the distribution of wealth. These factors justify to a considerable extent low levies by a number of very poor mining counties in the south of the state, but hardly justify great differences between two urban counties of approximately the same economic position and per capita wealth.

Final decision as to what differences between the rates of urban and rural townships is reasonable cannot be made. This decision would be more easy if it was decided as to the proportion of relief funds which the general property tax is supposed to carry. If this proportion is restricted to a "reasonable" part of the total, there is less justification for discrepancies between rural and urban townships. The evidence seems sufficient to conclude that if the general country-wide movement to increase the areas in which relief funds are raised, with the safeguard that each locality shall do its part, is a wise one, the Finn Bill is distinctly a backward step and should be corrected as soon as possible.

It has been the stress of administering unemployment relief which has brought into such prominence the matter of local welfare organization, and it is hoped, therefore, that this stress may result in considerable improvement in this administration. Although the financial aspects of the township's administration of relief deserves considerable credit for the task accomplished, any movement toward this goal of improving local welfare organization will consider, almost certainly, the Finn Bill as an impediment to progress and will secure its immediate removal.

R. H. WHITMAN

ILLINOIS EMERGENCY RELIEF COMMISSION

FURTHER POOR LAW NOTES

THE publication of two articles relating to modern poor relief problems has led to various inquiries regarding statutory provisions regarding persons in receipt of public poor relief. One of these is the question whether the person in receipt of relief is deprived of his right to vote or hold office. Another is the question of statutory provision regarding the affidavits as to financial condition, ownership of property, poverty status, or actual need of relief as a prerequisite to relief grants. The provisions of the poor laws of the different states differ widely on these subjects.

RIGHT TO VOTE AND HOLD OFFICE

There are still fourteen states which deprive the "pauper" of his right to vote or hold office.¹ In all these states the disqualification of the pauper for voting is imposed upon him by the state constitution. In four states, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania, the constitutional disfranchisement applies only to paupers receiving institutional aid: In Louisiana, inmates of charitable institutions; in Missouri and Oklahoma, inmates of poorhouses; and, in Pennsylvania, inmates of poorhouses, except those who are under a contract for hire.

It is noted that in Louisiana the constitution also bars inmates of charitable institutions from holding public office. It is doubtful whether in any of the disfranchising states a pauper, who is not qualified as an elector, can qualify for holding any public office.

In eleven other states paupers are specifically protected by constitutional provisions to the effect that, with respect to residential requirements for the purpose of voting, no person shall be deemed to have lost a residence by reason of his absence while kept in any almshouse or other asylum at public expense.² Since the only other

¹ Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

² Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New York, and Oregon.

pertinent qualification in these states is that the prospective voter must have resided in the voting district for a certain time, it would seem that voters in almshouses can vote in such states.

It appears that in the remaining twenty-three states, which are silent on the point in question, the pauper is also not disfranchised.

Presumably the qualifications for taking part in elections are prescribed by the state constitution, so that they may not be subject to frequent changes by the state legislature. There are a number of judicial decisions to the effect that when such qualifications are fixed by the constitution, the legislature has no power to add or modify them, but they can be changed only by revision or amendment of the constitution.³

The following list includes the pertinent constitutional or statutory provisions which disfranchise the pauper in the fourteen states mentioned above.

CONSTITUTIONAL OR STATUTORY PROVISIONS WHICH
DISFRANCHISE THE PAUPER

Delaware:

" . . . No . . . pauper . . . shall enjoy the right of an elector." Const. Art. 5, sec. 2.⁴

Louisiana:

"The following persons shall not be permitted to register, vote or hold office or appointment of honor, trust, or profit in this State, to-wit: . . . those who are inmates of any charitable institution, . . ." Const. Art. 8, sec. 6.

Maine and Massachusetts:

The right of suffrage is briefly denied to "paupers" in Maine [Const. Art. 44, sec. 1 as amended], and in Massachusetts [Const. Amendment, Art. 3].

Missouri:

" . . . No person while kept in any poorhouse at public expense . . . shall be entitled to vote. . . ." Const. Art. 8, sec. 2.

New Hampshire:

"Every inhabitant of each town, being a native or naturalized citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, excepting paupers

³ *State v. Baker*, 38 Wis. 71; *Monroe v. Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 655; *Rison v. Farr*, 24 Ark. 161; *Randolph v. Good*, 3 W.Va. 551; *Green v. Shumway*, 39 N.Y. 418; *Quinn v. State*, 35 Ind. 485; *People v. Canaday*, 73 N.C. 198; *McCafferty v. Guyer*, 57 Penn. St. 109.

⁴ See also Laws of 1925, ch. 106, p. 226.

and persons excused from paying taxes at their own request, shall have a right, at any meeting, to vote in the town in which he dwells and has his home." Public Laws 1926, c. 23, sec. 1. (See also Constitution, art. 28.)

"No person shall be considered a pauper within the meaning of the preceding section unless he has been assisted as such (pauper) within ninety days prior to the meeting in which he claims the right to vote." *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

New Jersey:

"... No pauper ... shall enjoy the right of an elector." Comp. Stat. 1910, Const. Art. II, sec. 1.

Oklahoma:

No person "while kept in a poorhouse or other asylum at the public expense, ... shall be entitled to vote at any election under the laws of this State." Stat. 1931, Const., Art. 3, sec. 1 (or sec. 13446 of the code).

Pennsylvania:

No person "while kept in any poorhouse at public expense" Const. Art. 8, sec. 13. The following are judicial interpretations:

"Paupers in an almshouse, who receive no wages, but are accorded their board and lodging, and certain privileges, in return for their labor, are not entitled to vote in this district." Murray's petition, 5 W.N.C. 9 (1877); *Conway v. Carpenter*, 11 W.N.C. 169 (1881).

"But residents in an almshouse under a contract of hire have such a residence as entitles them to vote, though they originally entered as paupers." Anon. 10 Phila., 213 (1875); Murray's Petition, 5 W.N.C. 9 (1877).

Rhode Island:

"No pauper, ... shall be permitted to be registered or to vote. . . ." Gen. Laws 1923, Const. Art. 2, sec. 4.

South Carolina:

The following persons are disqualified from being registered or voting: "Persons who are idiots, insane, paupers, supported at the public expense, and persons confined in any public prison." Code 1932, Const., Art. 2, sec. 6.

Texas:

Paupers supported by the county "shall not be allowed to vote in this State." Const. Art. 6, sec. 1. Vernon's Annot. Stat. 1926, Art. 2954.

Virginia:

Paupers are excluded from "registering and voting." Annot. Code (Michie) 1930, Const., Art. 2, sec. 23.

West Virginia:

"No person who is . . . a pauper shall be permitted to vote." Code 1931, Const., Art. 4, sec. 1.

STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS FOR AFFIDAVIT

A search of the state laws shows that relatively few states require by statute that a pauper must as a prerequisite to relief make an affidavit as to his financial condition, ownership of property, or his poverty or actual need of relief. Most of the states have no specific statutory provision as to the necessity of filing any written application or affidavit for relief. The pertinent laws of some other states indicate that the form of the "application" or "application for relief" is left largely to the discretion of the local officials who administer poor relief; and these states do not specify whether such application may be oral or in writing or must be under oath.

In at least nine states, however, there is some statutory provision with reference to the content or the form of the application for poor relief, or the penalties imposed for obtaining relief under false pretenses.⁵

In Arizona, the applicant for poor relief must make an affidavit as to his inability to pay for his support. In Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, and Illinois he must, in addition to declaring his need, also state his financial condition or ownership of property, the State of Illinois outlining in great detail the facts to be supplied under oath. In Kansas the state board of administration must prescribe the form for the application for poor relief. In New York, the public welfare officials may require the pauper's oath on any facts they may desire to know. And in New Jersey and Wisconsin obtaining relief under false pretenses is by statute made punishable by fine or imprisonment.

There may be a valid excuse for requiring an affidavit from needy applicants, so as to protect the large present emergency funds from indiscriminate use. But one can hardly conceive of any valid reason for imposing upon the average poor person a pauper's oath with its ensuing punishment, if the pauper fails to disclose, for example, any comparatively small equity he might have in property and which he may not be able to turn into cash for several years. His failure to make this disclosure might well be due to an honest opinion that such an equity is intangible and, therefore, need not be stated.

⁵ Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin. [For comment on the Illinois law, see this *Review*, vii (1933), 323-25.]

It should be clear to the legislators that not only those who are in abject poverty should be aided but also those who are on the descending road to poverty and need relief; and that the needy should be aided even if they own a small amount of cash or an equity in a small home. The so-called poor-relief laws, still in force in most of the states, clearly show a legislative intent to aid only those poor who are in dire need and to forget the social duty of rendering speedy relief to prevent poverty.

The following excerpts from the pertinent statutes will be of interest:

STATUTORY PROVISIONS ON PAUPER'S OATH OF FINANCIAL CONDITION
OR POVERTY: PENALTIES FOR FALSE STATEMENTS

Arizona:

Any person applying for public aid must: "make an affidavit that he is sick, poor or disabled, or unable to pay for subsistence, care or medical attention. . . ." Code 1928, sec. 814.

Connecticut:

"Each person applying for or receiving support from any town shall, when requested by its selectmen, make a full disclosure of his financial condition and of all property owned by him, and they may cause such disclosure to be reduced to writing and require his oath and signature thereto." Refusal to disclose is punishable by \$500 fine, 1 year imprisonment, or both. Gen. Stat. 1930, sec. 1698.

Delaware:

In Delaware, where the earlier poor laws are superseded by the Act⁶ creating the state welfare home, under the supervision of the State Old Age Welfare Commission, it is provided by such act that:

"Any person, man or woman, having a legal residence in the State of Delaware, who has been unable to obtain employment, or is unable to work, who has no property or income sufficient to provide the necessities of life, who has no permanent place of abode, and no relatives or friends to care for him or her, may be admitted . . . upon . . . a statement in writing setting forth the facts in [the] case, attested by two credible witnesses, and verified under oath or affirmation. . . ." [Making false statements or misrepresentations is punishable by \$500 fine or three-years imprisonment, or both.]

Idaho:

"Any sick or indigent person desiring aid from any county of this State, must, before such aid can be given, make a written application to the probate judge, the clerk of the board of county commissioners, or to any justice of the peace

⁶ Laws of 1931, c. 189.

.... [showing] all the property owned by [the] applicant, or in which he has any interest; if such applicant have no available property, then he must declare his indigency and destitution, which must be sworn to." Code 1932, sec. 30-2904.

Illinois:

"Any poor and indigent person who applies for relief and support shall furnish to the overseer of the poor or the county bureau of public welfare, as the case may be, a sworn statement of his condition and submit to a reasonable examination by the over-seer of the poor or the county bureau of public welfare as to his inability to support himself or his dependents. Such sworn statement shall contain the following information and be in substantially the following form:

Name:.....
 Address:.....
 How long have you lived in this city?.....
 this State?.....
 Occupation:.....
 Last employer:.....
 Are you married or single?.....
 If married, how many children?.....
 Do you own any real estate?.....
 Any jewelry?.....
 An automobile?.....
 What is the total fair market value of your real estate?.....
 Of all your personal property?.....
 Have you a bank account, or a safety deposit box, anywhere under any name?.....
or any money hoarded away?.....

 Subscribed and sworn to by.....
 who is personally known to me, before me this.....
 day of..... A.D.....

Official Capacity

"Any such person who wilfully makes a false statement, in the sworn statement herein required, shall be denied any relief or help and shall be guilty of perjury and punished accordingly.

"Any overseer of the poor or any officer or employee of any county bureau of public welfare or any applicant for relief who connives with any other person or with each other in obtaining relief or supplies or in obtaining a greater amount of relief or supplies than is required to maintain such applicant and his family or dependents or who otherwise makes any unlawful disposition of any supplies

furnished for relief purposes is guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than five hundred (\$500) dollars or imprisoned in the county jail for not more than six (6) months or be both fined and imprisoned in the discretion of the court and in addition any such applicant for relief so convicted shall be denied further relief and support." Smith-Hurd Rev. Stat. 1931, p. 2167, sec. 15^b [added by Laws of 1933, p. 776].

Kansas:

By a law of 1933 (ch. 196, sec. 3), the state board of administration is required to "prescribe a standard form for application for poor relief."

New Jersey:

Any person obtaining public relief under false pretenses—any false statement made orally or in writing—is guilty of a misdemeanor and is to be punished accordingly. Laws of 1931, 2d Spec. Sess., c. 396 [Cum. Supp. 1932, sec. 52-214 B(1)⁷].

New York:

"Public welfare officials shall have power to administer oaths and take affidavits in all matters pertaining to their office and to elicit, by examination under oath, statement of facts from applicants for relief." Cahill's Consol. Laws 1930, Public Welfare Law, sec. 147.

"Any fraud or false representation made by an applicant for relief, or by any person to secure relief for another person, or any wilful act designed to interfere with proper administration of public relief and care, shall be deemed a misdemeanor." *Ibid.*, Public Welfare Law, sec. 148.

Wisconsin:

"Any person who, with intent to secure relief whether for himself or for some other person, shall wilfully make any false representations shall upon conviction be punished" [\$200 fine or 1 year imprisonment, if amount or value involved is \$100 or less; or 1 year in jail, 1 to 5 years in state prison, or fine of \$200 to \$1000, if amount or value is more than \$100]. Laws of 1933, c. 468, adding sec. 49.124 to the Wisconsin statutes.

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⁷ The statutes do not indicate that an application under oath is required.

NEXT STEPS IN CO-ORDINATING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, LOCAL AND STATE SOCIAL WELFARE EFFORTS¹

THE pressure of an emergency period has eliminated many of the old lines of demarcation between public and private agencies concerned with welfare administration. It has, of course, accelerated at the same time the tendency toward integrating the work of local and state public welfare activities, and has brought into the field of public welfare administration the leadership and financial support of the federal government, as well.

We are all familiar with the great advances that have been made during the past thirty years in safeguarding children and in the strengthening of family life. This has been a part of the larger purpose of stabilizing economic and social life in the interest of protection of the community. It is one aspect of a great discovery, if you please, in the field of social welfare, now accepted as an axiom of public policy, that it is more important, more economical, and more sensible, and the only statesmanlike policy, to protect children in need and to eliminate the possible consequences of neglect through the provision of care for them, rather than to await the inevitable social and individual disaster that neglect incurs.

The private child-caring and family agencies are to be given the credit for demonstrating the possibilities in this field, for developing trained personnel, and for the building up of a public opinion which would support the need for action and for a responsible public service in this and related fields. Thus, there has been developed more nearly adequate aid in their own homes, provided by both public and private agencies, to dependent families. Protective health and social services for children, specialized services for the handicapped, child-guidance clinics, modern socialized special schools, and socialized court procedures, are all an expression of the recognition of

¹ Paper read at the New Jersey Conference of Social Work, Asbury Park, New Jersey, December 7, 1933.

the public responsibility in meeting the needs of the community and the state.

While noteworthy progress has been made in this state and in other parts of the country in developing public and private co-operation in meeting the needs of the dependents, the problem of relationship between the public and private services has been worked out differently in various parts of the country. Long before the onset of the emergency situation, leaders in social work had begun to realize how great was their own need for a better understanding of the work of agencies other than their own, so that joint consideration could be given to the common social problems of the community. In various ways they have been striving, through informal conferences, through committees, through daily contacts, to bring about a wiser planning of their activities and more helpful relationships with one another.

One of the most useful means of bringing about co-operation and co-ordination of the social-work program arose from such informal relationships in the form of the Council of Social Agencies, bringing together as it did representatives of the social agencies of the community, including both the professional and lay members of boards and the representatives of private as well as public groups, to lay the groundwork for co-operative study and planning. Within limited areas it has resulted in co-ordinated efforts to the stimulating of sounder methods and to a development of certain of the services that are jointly needed by all the member groups.

When we are in a position to look back upon some of the progress that has been won in depression days, we will no doubt emphasize as one of the most valued achievements the promotion of the interrelation of activity as between public and private agencies, and the integration of the whole field of local, state, and federal support and responsibility for public welfare needs.

This has been characterized in the last three years, especially, by the interchange of personnel as between the public and private agencies, which has accompanied the increasing support of public social work from public funds. This has brought about the development of mutual confidence as between public and private agencies, and is undoubtedly one of the most effective ways by which the artificial

boundaries that limited co-operation in the manifold aspects of social service work have been broken down. We may safely say that the old attitude of a decade ago, that adequate standards of work and competent personnel were not to be expected from a public welfare department, has gone—and, we believe, has gone for good and all.

We cannot stress too greatly the significance of this step, as it must inevitably lead to a more complete establishment of high standards of work in the two fields. In city after city and state after state, and the federal government itself, it has been the fortunate experience of the public agencies that well-trained and experienced workers have gone into positions of responsibility from a background of experience in private welfare activity, without any loss of professional standing, and with the accompanying development of the education of the related public departments that come into contact with the widespread relief activities.

This achievement, of course, has been rapid and uneven, but it is built upon sound experience and outstanding personnel. Back of it also, of course, are the achievements of more recent years in public social work in hospitals and institutions, in the field of probation, in public-health nursing, in hospital social work, in mothers' aid work, and in the visiting teacher and mental clinic activities, so that in one community after another there has been ample demonstration that there is no type of social work that the public agencies cannot be called upon to administer successfully and on a high plane of service, provided there is present an intelligent and understanding public opinion. Therefore, we may say that the objective of the private agencies in developing specialized services, techniques, and standards, has been put to the test and has met the test of the past three years.

At this time we stand on the threshold of a vital stage in the coordination of our public and private welfare agencies. This is a period of transition, and should be one of inventory and stock-taking. It is unlikely that we will return to the old conceptions, the old prejudices, or the old methods. One of the most valuable and necessary outgrowths of the experience of our emergency handling of relief problems is that we can never tolerate again the low level of public relief administration which characterized, with some notable excep-

tions, the old overseers' departments, which have been rightly described in the works of responsible commissions that have surveyed their work, as "relics of the horse and buggy days"—totally inadequate to meet the complicated problems of modern community life.

Now, we are confronted in this transition period with the problem of how to continue to meet our present needs and prepare wisely and constructively for the immediate future. Dr. Ellen Potter pointed out, in an able research and study presented at the Sixtieth Annual Session of the National Conference of Social Work at Detroit, some of the major successful experiments that had already been made in New Jersey along the lines of co-ordination of state and local units for welfare administration.² She reviewed the progress of the past thirty years. She pointed out the six major lines of experiment and development, beginning with the work of the Board of Children's Guardians in the field of child care and protection; the creation of the Department of Institutions and Agencies; the passage of the Welfare Act of 1924; the establishment of the principle of old-age relief in 1931; the revision of the 1924 Welfare Act, through the provision of county welfare boards for general relief purposes, in 1931, and the establishment of the Emergency Relief Administration in 1931.

It would well repay every member of this Conference to read this able appraisal of the historic steps by which steady progress has been made for the co-ordination of local and state efforts in public welfare.

The genius of the New Jersey plan of welfare organization may be summed up as a combination of (1) the establishment of a central state administration and policy-making agency for the co-ordination of local and state units with (2) a decentralization of administrative detail, for the purpose of carrying out policies, built upon the development of local citizen planning and support of an official and advisory nature. This has utilized effectively the unsalaried supervisory boards.

If you will examine the work of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, or of the plan and purpose of the Old-Age Relief Administration, or of the Emergency Relief Act, or of any of the

² Published also in *Social Service Review*, VII, 383.

other major welfare activities from the standpoint of experiments in welfare development, you will be impressed with the place that these two central ideas hold in the possibilities for future development.

The next major step, obviously, in co-ordinating public and private, local and state welfare activities, and for consolidating the gains already made, is along lines made possible through the welfare legislation already on the statute books of New Jersey, through the Welfare Act of 1931, that provides for the county welfare board and welfare unit. This is in line with a generally accepted policy which has been worked out administratively in more than one-third of the states of the Union.

The organization of county welfare services has been generally accepted as a more practical administrative unit than any individual town or township plan. It was for this reason that county welfare programs, which make possible the co-ordination and development of social services on a county basis, and the employment of qualified social workers, serving the needs of the county, have been developed in so many states of the Union. These agencies have been given both the special responsibilities for the protection and care of children, and in addition they have been authorized to provide social service for the care of the dependent, the delinquent, and various types of handicaps.

In an appraisal of the progress made by the county as an administrative unit for social work published recently by the Children's Bureau,³ emphasis is placed upon the fact that:

... the real accomplishments have been made in those States where the County unit has been integrated with a State plan of participation, along three major lines:

1. Through grants in aid to assist the counties in providing for a qualified staff;
2. Through the establishment of standards of education, training, and experience for county social workers and assistance to counties in obtaining eligible persons;
3. Through assistance to local groups in making plans and in stimulating interest in county organization and consultation and case-work services to assist the county agency after it is established.

³ Mary Ruth Colby, *The County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work* (U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 224), Washington, D.C., 1933.

The Children's Bureau points out in this report that the need for state leadership is apparent: (1) in demonstrating to the county the fact that its social problems are worthy of attention; (2) in assisting the county in perfecting an organization that will be effective in meeting these problems; (3) in guiding the organization so that its progress from year to year will be in the right direction; and (4) in providing such supervision as may be necessary to assure to every child and his family throughout the entire state a high standard of service.

The Children's Bureau concludes that the states that have accomplished the most in county organization have recognized these needs and have met them through the employment of a state staff of high professional standing.

In New Jersey we have had two outstanding demonstrations, along slightly different lines, of what may be expected of the county unit in welfare administration; first, the demonstration in Monmouth County, where the freeholders four years ago took advantage of the 1924 act and established a County Welfare Board, to be responsible for the supervision of the welfare house and to carry on the work of outdoor relief, including the administration of the Old-Age Relief Act. In this County this forward step was due to the valuable body of intelligent opinion, created through the efforts of a private social welfare agency, the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service. This agency was not only instrumental in informing the people of the County generally, and the officials of the County, as to the possibilities for progressive action under the county welfare unit plan, but had also, through years of experience, trained lay people for positions of responsibility in the private organization and later service to the County in the County Welfare Board.

Morris County, which was one of three counties to take advantage of the permissive features of the 1931 Welfare Act, has established a County Welfare Board to perform the larger relief duties made possible in the amendments to the Welfare Act passed in 1931. Here, too, a private children's agency, which included many of the same individuals who had been active in private social service, health, and welfare work, which is responsible for the public opinion that supported the favorable action on the referendum, was ready to supply

personnel for capable, competent service in the administration of the new responsibilities of the County Welfare Board.

These two notable demonstrations have served to accelerate the conviction among public and private social workers and public officials, and citizens generally, that the county is the desirable and practicable unit for public welfare administration in the state. This conviction has certainly been further confirmed by the success which has attended the administration of the Old-Age Relief Act under county welfare boards for old-age relief, set up under the legislation enacted in 1931.

Perhaps the most important support, however, that has been given to the growing conviction that the county is the logical unit for public welfare administration throughout the state, has been the pattern established under the Emergency Relief Administration. Here, again, is a demonstration of the genius of the New Jersey planning to which I have referred earlier; namely, (1) the establishment of a centralized state administrative and policymaking unit for co-ordination and correlation of local and state relief efforts, and (2) the decentralization of administrative detail to the county unit, through county directors, and through them to municipal directors, for the development of local citizen understanding and responsibility and support.

With this experience, and with the undoubted necessity for building up responsible local units integrated into a statewide program, which confronts us in this period of transition, the present challenge is for us to consider the obvious advantages demonstrated by our previous experimentation. It is not too much to hope that on the basis of the experience to date the people of the state generally, and those who have served in voluntary and professional relationship to the state emergency relief program, will be prepared to support a plan for consolidating under county welfare boards the responsibility for relief and welfare administration in every county of the state.

Through such an administrative development it should be possible to work out increasingly close co-ordination of the private and the public agencies on a county basis. It should be possible to stress and give effective force to the new emphasis that has come into emer-

gency relief administration in the past few weeks, that primarily the policy is one that seeks the re-employment of all who are employable. It should be possible to build up that public opinion which supports the necessity for maintaining public relief and welfare activities on a basis of standards and personnel adequate for the times and for the needs of the day.

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SOCIAL WORK IN PROCESS OF CHANGE—1930-33

AN ATTEMPT, not so much to state what has happened in changing lines of the social work pattern in St. Paul but rather the "how" and "why" of the changes, is the purpose of this article. A later review can always provide the record of occurrences, but the negotiations involved and the reasons therefor may be more important as a basis for future action and may be entirely obscured by inadequate records and forgotten motives. The fact that on April 1, 1933, the staffs of public and private relief agencies in St. Paul were consolidated into one administrative unit is less important from the far viewpoint than why this step was taken and how it was effected.

FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF WORK

On January 1, 1930, the family welfare and relief situation in St. Paul may be briefly described as follows:

1. The Board of Public Welfare, the tax-supported relief agency, was still following a traditional policy of giving a maximum grocery order of \$5.00 to any approved family, plus a ton of coal in each of the winter months. (November to March inclusive. But did one ever live comfortably in Minnesota in October and April without heat and lots of it?) No other items of relief in the family field were considered a responsibility of tax support. This it must be recalled again was the year 1930.
2. The Board of Public Welfare maintained a professional staff of only two or three people of competence, experience, and training. In general they were given executive positions rather than a practitioner's responsibility.
3. The United Charities had a well-organized family welfare agency using five districts as a basis of city-wide operation.
4. There were operating also the Bureau of Catholic Charities and Jewish Welfare Association handling the cases of major importance falling in these respective groupings although the Catholic charities

only handled a limited load of Catholic families, the rest being served by the United Charities or the Board of Public Welfare.

5. There were also a number of small auxiliary relief agencies such as the American Legion Welfare Bureau, the Shoe and Clothing Committee of the public schools, as well as several others with special work in the field of care of homeless men and women.

6. The Amherst H. Wilder Charity, a foundation, conducted a relief department which dealt principally with aged pension cases, the active relief load of this agency being limited to about 185 families or individuals.

7. There was, of course, a confidential exchange, called in St. Paul the "Central Registration Bureau."

8. All private relief agencies together were regarded as the responsible organizations for the care and treatment of dependent families. The public agency was viewed as an organization whose relief grant supplemented the relief given out by private agencies. In other words, a \$5.00 grocery order and ton of coal could be requisitioned by any responsible private agency and would be given more or less on the authority of the private agency submitting it.

REASONS FOR CONSIDERING CHANGE NECESSARY

Those responsible for social planning found "food for thought" in various things which came about in the year 1930, and even before. These may be summarized as follows:

1. Participation in the registration of social statistics then conducted from the University of Chicago, and under the sponsorship jointly of the University and the Association of Community Chests and Councils. Local work on this project proved to be one of the most thought provoking experiences in St. Paul. The city submitted monthly, through the local supervisor of this registration, the relief figures for all agencies. The brilliant idea occurred of adding up figures for all agencies to determine the total community case load. Others thought of the same thing and by dividing the total case load of all agencies into the total relief expended, figures were published nationally which showed the average relief per family. St. Paul had a very low per family relief cost. Relief workers knew it was not so low as published; and, of course, the duplications in the

reports of the agencies, because of the supplementary relief system, accounted for the discrepancy. Therefore, the situation seemed to call clearly for some method of securing an unduplicated case count of family welfare clients, and some steps were taken looking to this result. This process later became somewhat more complicated and the statistical departments of all agencies were consolidated into one central bureau¹ to provide total and unduplicated community figures as well as operating agency statistics.

2. There was an extensive public works program in St. Paul and relief did not assume such large proportions early in the depression as in some other cities; but relief needs were growing rapidly enough to convince the local leaders that with a policy where the private agencies held the ultimate responsibility a chaotic condition would soon result. By watching the relief curves in other places one knew what could be expected. The national figures coming from the United States Children's Bureau were convincing enough to show that ultimate responsibility must be in the public agency with the private groups supplementing public relief rather than vice versa.

¹ A summary sheet from this bureau for the month of November, 1933, follows:

NOVEMBER, 1933		
STATU OF UNDUPLICATED RELIEF AND SERVICE CASES		
	Relief	Service
1. Unemployment		
A. Unskilled Labor.....	7,596	539
B. Semi Skilled Labor.....	1,314	82
2. Incapacity		
A. Physical Illness.....	643	31
B. Mental Illness.....	52	6
3. Homeless Individuals.....	619	63
4. Transient Family.....	7	0
5. Non Resident Family.....	37	17
6. Domestic Difficulties.....	376	33
7. Pending Permanent Disposition.....	51	3
8. Follow Up Care.....	22	139
9. Old Age.....	1,099	24
10. Mothers' Pension.....	386	0
11. Legal Entanglements.....	4	0
12. Imprisonment.....	32	0
13. Indebtedness.....	2	0
14. Widow Not Eligible to Mothers' Pension.....	209	25
Unknown.....	89	12
	12,538	974
Relief Cases.....	12,538	
Service Cases.....		974
Inactive Cases.....	1,466	
Total.....	14,978	

STEPS BY WHICH CHANGES WERE EFFECTED

The steps taken and the reasons for placing the Board of Public Welfare in the position of ultimate responsibility were as follows:

1. The recommendations for additional funds for the public relief program which had been made in the 1930 budget hearings by representatives of the Community Chest as well as the United Charities, Catholic and Jewish charities, had been partially carried out.
2. A good deal of pressure was put on the Board of Public Welfare to increase the amount of its open grocery order.
3. Gradually an agreement was established dividing the field of work between the public and private relief agencies along these lines:
 - a) The public agencies would take the entire responsibility for fuel and food. (An exception being special dietary cases which would be carried by the private agencies.)
 - b) The private agencies would supervise about half of the relief load in the community, would requisition the Board of Public Welfare for food and fuel, and would themselves meet the total cost of rent, clothing, and miscellaneous relief.
 - c) The crowding at the courthouse, because of long relief lines became acute and a plan was accepted whereby the United Charities would enlarge its relief districts and would provide space for the Board of Public Welfare workers so as to make possible a decentralization of relief operations. As a result the City Hall was used only as an administrative office, there having been set up five relief districts in its place.
 - d) The first difficulty discovered with this procedure was that the reasonably well-equipped and trained staff of the United Charities presented a marked contrast to the staff of the Board of Public Welfare, which was inadequate in number and not so well trained. The United Charities, which was carrying about half of the relief work in the city, accepted the more complicated relief cases which needed more than food and fuel. These two staff groups in such marked contrast, both in personnel and in methods of work, could not go on satisfactorily

in the same offices without the distinction being only too apparent to everybody connected with the work. Therefore it was finally decided to make an out-and-out consolidation of the staffs of the Board and the United Charities.

- e) Under this plan of consolidation the General Secretary of the United Charities became the Director of the Family Welfare Department of the Board and the United Charities loaned its entire professional staff and some of its clerical workers to relief districts.
- f) The smaller organizations like the Bureau of Catholic Charities and the Jewish Welfare Association continued to carry separate case loads under their own direction but specialized primarily in dealing with those cases where the church had a definite and hopeful possibility of doing some good through its official agencies. Especially in the Catholic Charities it was understood that its workers should handle the cases with religious complications on the basis of a fairly rapid turnover, using as intake those families referred by the public department on the theory that this private agency was carrying a small case load and could do constructive work more easily. As soon as the work was accomplished, the policy was to turn back those cases to the public Board and take new ones in place of those transferred. The Jewish Welfare Association operated on something of the same basis, as also did a special Lutheran committee in the United Charities.
- g) As the year 1933 approached, it became evident that it was utterly impossible for private funds to carry the total expenditure for rents, clothing, and miscellaneous relief items. Therefore, clothing and rent were largely taken over by the public body. Private relief then was devoted to special items such as medical appliances and other needs difficult to obtain under the somewhat complicated and rigid rules of the tax-supported work and its state and federal connections.

By January 1, 1933, the ultimate responsibility for relief provision to families had completely shifted from a private to a public basis. All of the working facilities of the private agencies were turned over and utilized by the public body but the responsibility was fixed where it properly should rest.

FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

No one in St. Paul is enough of a prophet to suggest what the ultimate relationship will turn out to be. There are, however, a few indications of future policy and to complete the story they might well be listed:

1. There should result a well-equipped public department to look after family welfare and relief work. This department should have good personnel standards, complete relief responsibility, a decentralized basis of operation, and a command of reasonably good case-work methods.
2. There will continue to be private relief agencies which will gradually do more and more work as training centers for students, take a larger and larger interest in family cases involving domestic relations, keep in close touch with such church groups as Catholic, Jewish, Lutheran and other Protestant denominations with an attempt to maintain a sensible but close interest among these religious groups to the general set-up for handling the public problem. As time goes on, and when and if more private funds become available, there should be additional work developed in making more easily available to the public at large psychiatric service, pre-marital and post-marital guidance, and possibly a growing and more self-supporting service to the self-supporting groups.

CARE OF THE AGED

There are seven homes for the aged in St. Paul and the county in which it is located. An old age pension law with a maximum pension limit of \$30 a month is also in operation. Of the seven institutions for the care of the aged, six are private and financed through the Community Chest. The seventh is the County Home under the auspices of the tax-supported Board of Public Welfare.

In 1930 the subsidy required for the six participating agencies in the Community Chest was approximately \$50,000, while the subsidy required for the operation of the County Home was about \$100,000. The six private homes added together have the same capacity as the one home under tax support. Both groups care for some 450 different residents during the course of a year.

POLICIES IN DEALING WITH PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

Experience in dealing with all of these homes gives basis for a conviction that in the field of institutional care of the aged there is real opportunity and a permanent place for the private welfare agency. Such homes are usually small and furnish reasonably pleasant surroundings. Individual attention is the rule rather than the exception. The residents have a feeling of independence and self-respecting companionship because they all pay something upon admission. It is more frequently the case that the publicly supported institution for the aged falls in just the reverse classification. Often the institution is large; the dealing with inmates is impersonal; there is a lack of the feeling of independence, and but little choice can be exercised in the matter of admissions. The difference in operating expense is, of course, brought about by the requirement that aged people must bring at least \$500 cash or its equivalent in assets as a requirement of admission in the private homes. The aged man, woman, or couple who have to face the world at the age of 70 with \$2,500 would soon become a charge upon the community. By expending that \$2,500 in a life-contract at some home they can be assured life-care without much additional subsidy from any source. Even under the most favorable conditions it will take many years to break down in the minds of the aged themselves the unfortunate stigma attached to public institutions serving the aged and chronically ill. In the end this will be accomplished. Meanwhile a renewed interest may well be taken in these partially self-supporting private enterprises.

The application of some of the following rules in connection with institutions for aged care in St. Paul has brought about an interesting situation:

1. All income from endowment must be placed annually into the operating budget.
2. All admission fees are placed in a reserve fund and 15 per cent of the reserve fund is transferred to annual operations. (Some of these reserve funds in long-established agencies have grown surprisingly large.)
3. No non-resident inmate can be accepted unless a sufficient payment is made to carry the cost of his or her care on an actuarial basis.

(Usually \$2,000 is ample for this provision but the amount depends upon the institution.)

4. Interest from building funds must be transferred to the current operating budget.

The introduction of the practices outlined above has led to the following consequences:

1. Two of the six homes are now living entirely on their own earned income or more definitely their endowment, building, and reserve fund income, and subject to general economic conditions should be permanently self-supporting.

2. The subsidy to the other four homes has been reduced from about \$50,000 in 1930 down to \$20,000 in 1931, carrying with it a reasonable expectancy that there will be a constantly diminishing community deficit.

A PLACE FOR PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

Of course, every thoughtful community has at least these simple and sensible provisions. There is nothing new in all of this. Most private homes are old; they have never adequately covered the field. It is agreed that society should give old people a chance to live on a decent pension plan and it need not be too worried about institutional care. Herein lies the only new element in this whole field. Consider well the fact that 450 aged men and women can be well cared for, with good nursing service when ill, for \$20,000 in subsidized income. There is no complete answer to this problem of the care of the aged but in St. Paul 25 per cent of the total responsibility as it now appears is provided in this way. And local leaders admit with some pride to being sufficiently old-fashioned to wish to expand this phase of the program.

RECREATION AND GROUP-WORK ACTIVITIES

Fewer changes have come about in this field of work than in any other in St. Paul during this period. Certain conclusions that have been reached by some people, but not agreed to generally, may prove of interest.

1. Agencies with institutional equipment have been severely penalized and there is little hopeful outlook for the future. Especially the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are doomed to many hard years before they can get their earned income from gymnasias, dormitories, and

cafeterias on such a basis that the community can afford to pay the balance of the subsidy required for other non-revenue producing departments. Indeed it is doubtful if the old situation will ever be brought back because of the prevalence of other facilities which make these three large earners of the Associations less and less important. In the opinion of some, the Associations that can sell their buildings for even a fair remuneration to be turned into clubs, or hotels, and who, starting thus with some endowment, can carry on a non-institutional program, will be both wiser and richer.

2. Non-institutional programs for boys and girls such as scouting, Camp Fire, and Girl Reserves have been very successful and newer methods and better training of volunteer leaders have done much toward making these programs more extensive and even cheaper.

3. Social settlements have proved their worth beyond doubt (if such proof were ever needed) and thoughtful citizens responsible for welfare planning in St. Paul have come to the conclusion that the city is far short of its needed requirements in the social settlement field and steps will be instituted as soon as possible to provide additional facilities. Some definite plans are close to maturity at present.

4. There existed several organizations for group work which had neither a concrete objective nor a definite clientèle. An opinion is growing that only agencies with well established programs reaching large numbers are in the end essentially sound. During the period four agencies have been dropped either by some pressure exercised through the central planning group or by the boards of these agencies themselves, including a social center for employed girls; a promotional agency to interest boys and girls in recreation; two pieces of community work located in somewhat underprivileged districts and housed in churches.

Such alteration as has occurred in the City Department of Parks and Playgrounds has been the cutting off of certain activities due to a curtailed budget. By wise decision cuts have not been made where participation in recreation was involved. Rather such items as curtailment of the number of band concerts has made it possible to continue supervised playgrounds.

In spite of pessimistic prediction that the excellent summer camps of the national program agencies could not operate fully without Chest subsidy nearly all have succeeded in so doing. Two camps

operated by the Y.M.C.A. have been made entirely self-sustaining, including repairs, new equipment, and even carrying the proper portion of salary of the permanent staff supervisors, and, of course, salaries of the camp staffs. The Girl Scout Camp "breaks even" except for the allocation of salary of the permanent scout officer. The same is true of the Y.W.C.A., except for a small \$300 balance. Camp Fire Girls needed only a small interest payment on mortgage and a modest insurance amount. Boy Scouts needed \$600 for two large camps. Altogether these facilities served 3,476 full-period campers and 4,854 week-end and overnight individuals.

Here again private group initiative is rendering an extensive service and is close to a self-sustaining basis. The above figures do not include another camp operated for the clientèle of several settlements which runs a deficit of \$3,500, nor does it include a fresh-air camp for mothers and children operated by the Salvation Army at a community cost of \$4,000. The net outlay for this latter camp is somewhat lessened by the fact that the United Charities controls intake and accepts only relief clients, thus affecting some saving in relief costs. No accurate figure is available as to the amount of this saving but the principle involved is of interest and there is no reason to believe the actual saving is not significant.

As general and incomplete as is this comment on group activities, it must terminate with some data from the rather comprehensive statistical system used in St. Paul settlements and centers, which show a clearance made of "Neighborhood House" family clientèle with the Central Registration Bureau records, showing 850 families registered and 687 identified. These families were registered as follows: relief agencies, 488; medical agencies, 570; child care agencies, 109; correctional agencies, 170; state institutions, 84.

The identification of families served by other settlements and centers with the Central Registration Bureau records ran as follows:

Settlement or Center	Families Served	Identified
Central Community House	255	234
Christ Child Community Center	161	160
Community Board	560	515
Hallie Q. Brown	234	159
Neighborhood House	850	687
Totals	2,060	1,755
Percentage Identified		85.19

These figures are interesting locally because they tend to reinforce the belief that social services of all types are directed in behalf of a fairly clearly defined group of families and that before much light can be shed upon total costs per family much statistical co-ordination is demanded. So far as St. Paul is concerned settlement figures reveal the surprisingly low per family cost in settlements and centers of about \$25.

CHILD WELFARE WORK

Previous to 1930 there had already developed a general feeling in St. Paul and throughout Minnesota that satisfactory child welfare work can be done under the auspices of a public agency. More and more responsibility has been placed there, and to this principle there is now a complete agreement. By application of a well-defined policy, child dependency cases involving a more or less permanent responsibility are turned over to the public body.

There is also present a local feeling that the private agency still has a distinct place in the child welfare field. In this particular period there has been additional evidence to indicate that the temporary care of children away from the home, with the expectancy of subsequent return, is an essential characteristic of the need in this field. There is no reason to suppose the public agency could not render this temporary care on just as satisfactory a basis, but the problems of temporary and permanent care are somewhat different. For the present, it would seem best, as shifting emphasis of the social work pattern is made, to place the emphasis for permanent care in the hands of the public body and temporary care in the private agency.

In the course of the four depression years St. Paul has been able to close one orphanage which had been in existence for forty years, using the substantial endowment funds of this agency, supplemented by additional community subsidy, to carry on a boarding-home program instead of an institutional job. This experiment has been in operation now for over two years, and even some of the older women on the board of this agency, who began the new work with considerable trepidation, are now almost convinced that boarding-home care is as satisfactory as institutional provision. Naturally, the younger and more modern group are enthusiastic about the job that is being

done. At a later date this organization may build a small institution to be devoted to study of problem children.

Close investigatory work of the whole child welfare program indicated that the tendency was to carry too large case loads in both the public and private agencies and even during the years of the depression real results have been obtained in trying to bring the average case loads in the children's field down to a maximum of 40. This is by no means a complete accomplishment but well on the way to realization.

There has been a serious problem in the field of boarding-home care, the cost of which has gone up substantially because of the larger number of children needing the boarding home and the few number of placements which can be made in free homes. The plan of placing the responsibility for the more permanent cases on the public body has proved its wisdom in this particular connection. The Ramsey County Child Welfare Board, the official tax-supported agency, is not given a budget for boarding-home care; that is, the provision for such care is the responsibility of the Relief Department of the Board of Public Welfare. As a matter of fact, a tradition has grown up permitting the Child Welfare Board to handle the other Board's funds and since the other Board has the opportunity of securing federal grants for family relief, it can use funds of its own to make available more boarding-home money, so that the enlargement of costs in this field has been fairly well met.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

St. Paul might be described as an over-hospitalized city. It has good provision for public hospital care. The Board of Public Welfare maintains a 1,050-bed hospital, which has thus far been able to meet the necessities of the situation. Seven private hospitals have fared poorly. Two are in the hands of receivers, and the others are not safe from this final recourse. The percentage of occupancy for seven non-governmental hospitals from January to October, 1933, when the total bed capacity was 1,255, was as follows: January, 49.2 per cent; February, 43.3 per cent; March, 47.4 per cent; April, 47.3 per cent; May, 42.0 per cent; June, 43.1 per cent; July, 43.4 per cent; August, 44.4 per cent; September, 41.0 per cent; October, 44.7

per cent. Operating a hospital on occupancy figures running from 35 to 55 per cent is just an impossible situation.

One may walk into the Children's Hospital of St. Paul today and find one of the finest plants in the country for medical service to children. It has a bed capacity of 65 and a bed occupancy of 10. But there are such long lists of children waiting for tonsillectomies at the public hospital that when a name goes on the list in November there is no prospect of the operation before April. A situation that might be described as starvation amidst plenty!

THE CONFUSION OVER PRIVATE HOSPITALS

In the serious predicament in which privately operated hospitals find themselves there arises a reasonable probability that this condition may grow worse instead of better.

During this period the Hospital Service Association has been introduced which is offering contracts to groups of individuals at a cost of \$9.00 per year, which will provide twenty-one hospital days' care to any of the members who become ill and need hospital care. At present this Association has only about 1,800 members, but this seems an excellent start. To believe this is going to save the day for the private hospitals is, however, a mistaken conception. It is one of the many things that may tend to help hospitals, but at least for some years it will not help enough to solve the problem.

An entirely new deal in the handling of the hospital situation for those who can afford to pay in full or in part must be brought about or, before many months, many privately owned hospitals will have to close their doors.

No social condition is potentially more critical than that of the hospitalization of the acutely ill. But the provision of hospital care remains a baffling problem. It is locally regarded by at least a few people as the most dangerously acute situation in our entire welfare program.

It is doubtful if a federal, local, or state subsidy would correct this hospital difficulty. Indeed, these hospitals are not operated for the dependent group. Therefore, it is admitted, the problem lies deeper and is just a part of a fairly outworn system of meeting the cost of medical care. Traditions change slowly, and the worst of this

problem is that before thoughtful leaders in the medical field can change the basic policies of operation, the entire system for the hospitalization of the economically secure group may break down. If generous subsidies are given either under private auspices or after private institutions are taken over by government, the formulation of new policies which alone can correct the difficulty may be seriously delayed.

Probably no local group can expedite the solution of this problem, which is largely a matter of tradition. But local leaders cannot sit idly by. Aside from the hopeful aspect of the group hospital plan, practically nothing else has been done as yet in St. Paul to meet the situation. This problem can no longer be called a challenge to local thinking. As a matter of fact, the problem has put local thinking entirely to rout. No one seems to rise up with the capacity to meet the involved conditions. But meet them the city must, and that shortly, or complete disintegration of privately operated hospital facilities may take place.

THE NURSING FACILITIES REMAIN AWKWARD AND UNCHANGED

The nursing field² is complicated in this city, and nothing has been done in the course of the past four years to better it. There is no question that St. Paul needs a single generalized nursing agency under public auspices if it can be brought about. If that is impossible, it needs two generalized nursing services, one under public and one under private control. Traditions in existing agencies have made the desirable course of action virtually impossible. The fact that part of the private nursing service is under Chest and part under the Amherst H. Wilder Charity has further complicated the situation and has made progress impossible in the private field as well as in the public.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GROUPS SAFEGUARD CHILDREN'S PREVENTORIUM

The Chest happened to be supporting the Children's Preventorium, a splendid institution for the care of patients with childhood

² Nursing services are provided as follows: Infant Welfare Service (Community Chest); Bedside Nursing Service (Amherst H. Wilder Charity); Public School Nursing (Department Hygiene Public Schools); Parochial School Nursing (City Health Department); Tuberculosis Nursing Service (City Health Department); Nursing Service for certain types of communicable disease (City Health Department); Metropolitan Nursing Service (Company project); John Hancock Nursing Service (Company project).

One might comment: "interesting if true and only too true!"

tuberculosis. The outlay for this expenditure, which was running about \$45,000 a year, was a heavy tax upon the slender private resources. There is a sanatoria law in Minnesota which permits state aid to the extent of \$5.00 per week per patient in any approved institution under the County Sanatorium Board. The fact that the Preventorium cared regularly for seventy children made it seem necessary that state aid be taken advantage of, and this was impossible as long as the Preventorium was a private corporation. Negotiations were entered into with the Board of County Commissioners; and on May 1, 1933, the Preventorium, worth at least \$250,000, was turned over to the County of Ramsey with all equipment and every other asset and thereafter became a public agency, eligible to state aid. It was impossible for the county to place this institution in the tax budget for current operations, and the Community Chest agreed to continue its subsidy to the Preventorium for a period of three years, after which time it was definitely stated it would withdraw subsidy on the theory that its Board did not believe in a private agency subsidizing a public budget as a permanent policy. It might be added that the Board would probably agree to the same principle stated in reverse terms.

CLINICS OVERCROWDED

The availability of out-patient service and visits made by city physicians has been a great problem here as elsewhere. The out-patient department of the public hospital has been overtaxed by the great overload imposed upon its staff. The other large dispensary service is that conducted under the Amherst H. Wilder Charity with some private hospital facilities available at one of the local institutions. Attendance at the "well-baby clinics" has more than doubled during the period under discussion.

The ancient theory that only the very poor and the very rich receive good medical service has been proved at least 50 per cent incorrect because all the people connected with health agencies of any kind who are responsible for rendering service to the dependent group and those on the borderline are convinced that by the overcrowded condition of everything in the clinical field the very poor are receiving very poor medical treatment. In spots there are bright

places, but local facilities simply will not meet the need as it should be met.

INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

For nearly a year the Welfare Council of St. Paul has had a thoughtful committee studying the conditions in local maternity homes. One of these homes is a Catholic institution, another is operated by the Salvation Army, and a third is operated on non-sectarian lines. As a matter of fact the Salvation Army draws no religious distinctions, and the Catholic organization would take patients other than those of its own faith.

The Committee has reached certain conclusions which are not very flattering to the three institutions in St. Paul and which, in a certain measure, reflect adversely upon similar institutions in other cities because the Committee's investigations have led them afield as well as to local homes. Reluctantly, the Committee concludes that local institutions for maternity care might be better described as falling in the field of correctional and penal organizations, as contrasted to medical and social service agencies.

It was found that the admittance and discharge of patients was more in the form of a commitment for a definite period than the rendering of a piece of social service in accordance with the need in individual cases. After the client was entered, there arose the question of the censoring of mail, which was scrupulously done with respect to incoming and outgoing letters. Visiting hours were strict, and visitors were closely questioned. It was with the greatest difficulty that any girl could receive permission to go outside of the home even for a perfectly justifiable purpose unless accompanied by a member of the staff. Recreation was poorly individualized, religion was overemphasized, and work assignments were not made with enough discrimination.

On the whole, the institutions were maintained on a high sanitary basis, food was good, intentions were kindly, but over and above everything else the general atmosphere of the institutions was that they were dealing with a sinful group of girls who could only be prepared to meet life on the basis of the strictest discipline.

The social service programs in a few outstanding institutions for

maternity care were studied simultaneously, and, in a quite orthodox manner, the Committee proceeded to attempt the installation of a social service program in one of the institutions which is just now getting under way. It is, of course, too early to decide whether the experiment will be successful or not.

SOME RESULTS OF CONTROLLING INTAKE

Another interest of this Committee was the studying of the entire problem of intake. It soon discovered that there was a general theory that St. Paul girls went elsewhere for confinement and that girls from elsewhere came to St. Paul. But this seemed an attempt to rationalize an awkward situation. If Minnesota believes in determining parentage, placing financial responsibility where it properly belongs, and giving an equal opportunity to the child born out of wedlock as the normally born child, then local centers must face their own problem and be a party to no such arrangement that Minnesota girls must go to Dakota or Wisconsin or some other place "to hide their shame." The reverse is also true. If Minnesota does not want local girls to go away, it certainly cannot want to encourage girls from elsewhere to come here. The natural conclusion seemed to be to establish some rigid principles of intake aimed to take care of the local problem, both by seeing that local girls did not go away and by attempting to keep other girls from coming here.

The result of instituting a joint intake plan for three maternity hospitals soon cut down intake to the point where two institutions could do the work of three. Fortunately, the board of one of the three institutions came to the same conclusion as that of the Committee and of its own accord voluntarily turned over its well-equipped plant to an institution for child care. Fortunately, also, the institution to which the plant was given was not in the business of maintaining an orphanage for children, but rather using the institution as a receiving home for a boarding-care program.

Incidentally, the Committee discovered that it could conduct a well-developed social work program in the two remaining hospitals and with good luck could overcome all of their bad features at a lesser cost than it took to maintain three institutions. In the net result, therefore, it may be able to maintain a much better program of care

for these girls at a lower cost than had formerly prevailed for over a decade.

THE PLANNING RESOURCES THEMSELVES

What brings about social work change? Is necessity the mother of invention? Are professional workers just learning more about how to do it? Are agencies becoming more community-minded in regarding their jobs from a wider viewpoint? Are lay leaders tired of social work inefficiency and laying down the law along certain lines? Are there being developed people who are mastering a certain technique of community organization? Are councils of social agencies at last becoming efficient? Is the financial authority wielding the big stick? Is our factual basis for making wise changes being enlarged?

These questions are raised merely to indicate that the problem of community planning is by no means so simple as it was once believed to be. Indeed a little of everything is taking place. People are somewhat more open-minded to try things than they once were. Changes in other departments of life have now become so sweeping that most people are not afraid to see some cherished ambitions turned into a different course. Whole communities, like individuals, are growing less and less assured of their own opinions and more and more open to reason. Naturally with less money there develops a desire to spend it more wisely, and to look toward people with experienced judgment rather than persons with good intentions.

Among the principal factors which have made changes possible in this community are listed the following:

1. Accurate facts in the form of a statistical basis for operation in all fields. First, and foremost, there is the splendid accumulation of material from the Registration of Social Statistics and, in passing, this city pays tribute to that thoughtful and far-seeing enterprise.
2. The community has been willing to maintain a few professional people whose job it was primarily to keep informed, to keep studying, and to keep working at the problem of effecting needed changes.
3. The community has been sufficiently fortunate in having several professional agency workers who have been more interested in ultimate welfare of the community and its citizenship than they have been anxious over the ultimate prestige of their own agencies.
4. Through many years of traditional volunteer service the Wel-

fare Council and some of the larger participating agencies have developed a board personnel whose point of view is soundly professional and whose personal positions have frequently been extremely influential and whose opinions have been far-reaching.

5. The fact that private and public social work should join hands has throughout the entire period been the principal basic asset upon which planning operations have been built. In this connection, not alone have those representing the public and private agencies worked closely together, but there have been drawn in the political officials of the city on many of the planning groups.

6. The planning of the social program has not been exclusively any organization's right or privilege. The Welfare Council and Community Chest has taken a reasonable degree of leadership, but when it seemed wiser to form citizens' committees, appointed by the mayor, these groups have been utilized for planning purposes as well. No particular piece of machinery has tried to pre-empt the planning field and credit for any possible achievement has never been claimed nor taken.

INDICATIONS THAT WISE PLANNING APPEALS TO ALL GROUPS

These comments which relate to general policies in the planning of work appear sounder still when one considers that this city during the past four years has been through two totally different political groups in charge of municipal affairs. Social agencies, both private and tax-supported, have lived about two years under one administration and about two years under the other.

There would be general agreement that changes in programs have been made with equal facility under both political groups. Also it might be added that both political groups appear to have shown a genuine interest in providing the most satisfactory facilities for operation. Interestingly enough, the professional staffs in agencies have altered no more than normal change would bring about, and general confidence seems to prevail in the idea of a professionalized basis.

FUTURE PLANNING

WHAT LIES AHEAD?

St. Paul is looking forward to the days of heavy tax expenditure and a lowering subsidy from private contributions. Under such an

outlook there exists a responsibility to direct private enterprise as much as possible to keeping alive a citizenship interest and sense of responsibility toward the public agency. Experience has proved it is extremely easy to mechanize any public operation. The two things which counteract complete mechanization are, first of all, high professionalized standards, and, second, citizenship interest in the specific activity. The development of a sound tradition and an observant public opinion will go a long ways toward accomplishing needed objectives.

CERTAIN SWEEPING OBJECTIVES IN PLANNING WHICH MAY BE FUNDAMENTAL

Both public and private agencies should be sane and reasonable and objective. They should be conservative in their statements about social work needs. It is a poor leadership which fails to recognize the value of honesty and straightforward presentation as contrasted to sentimentalism and colored figures.

Slowly it might not be unreasonable to expect a public opinion convinced of public responsibility to meet human needs in all fields. It is undesirable that opinion should reach the point where it is taken for granted that the government owes all people a living. There must develop the more subtle distinction that the government must see that people have the opportunity to fit into an economic system. If such opportunity cannot be given then public opinion must insist upon a sense of security being provided as a right by proper remedial measures.

With this proper public viewpoint which social welfare leadership should try to establish there must be incorporated the theory that social work is no panacea for meeting human problems. It has very definite limitations. It has been called upon to do many things during the depression it should never have done. There should be no expectancy that it will continue to do them after the worst is over.

Also citizens should understand there are many enterprises which through private initiative they can make possible for themselves. Among the number are certainly types of recreation, educational opportunities, as well as many other services which they can provide on a community basis which is close to self-support. It is along these lines that private social work and its leadership might attempt

to mold new programs. At the same time social leadership is carrying on this latter phase of the work, it must continue to give renewed vigor and renewed emphasis to keeping the publicly established social services close to the people with much citizenship interest and participation.

These are certainly vague objectives in future planning, but the future is sufficiently vague to make impossible any specific suggestions which are sensible or which have meaning.

PIERCE ATWATER

ST. PAUL COMMUNITY CHEST, INC.

PUBLIC CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN
BALTIMORE THROUGH PLACEMENT IN
FREE FAMILY HOMES¹

Child-caring work is one of the public-welfare services administered by the Supervisors of City Charities of Baltimore City. The organization under which the supervisors function is that authorized by law in 1898.² There are nine supervisors constituting an unpaid administrative board appointed by the mayor. This board of supervisors, with the staff of paid personnel appointed by it to carry out the administrative duties, constitutes a division of the Department of Charities and Corrections for Baltimore City; the other division of the department is the "Visitors to the City Jails." The work of these two divisions is co-ordinated through a governing board consisting of two of the supervisors and two of the visitors, the mayor being an ex officio member. This board, known as the Board of Charities and Corrections, has no power to direct or control the duties or work of the two divisions, but serves merely in an advisory capacity.

The Supervisors of City Charities are responsible for providing care for the sick, the insane, and such other destitute persons as shall be accepted as proper charges of the city.³ The work is carried on in administrative units (including a child-caring division) for the various types of service, under the direction of the Chief Social Investigator who is appointed by the Supervisors.

¹ In the summer of 1933 the mayor of Baltimore appointed a committee of eleven social workers and citizens interested in social service under the chairmanship of the judge of the juvenile court to "survey social work in Baltimore City with special reference to the Supervisors of City Charities." The committee asked the Family Welfare Association of America to make the survey and report its findings to it. As one aspect of the work of the Supervisors of City Charities concerns the placement of dependent children in free foster homes, the Family Welfare Association requested the United States Children's Bureau to make a brief survey of the children receiving this type of care.

² *Public Laws of Maryland*, Code 1930 (Flack), Art. IV, secs. 103-117.

³ *Ibid.*, Art. IV, sec. 104.

The staff of the child-caring division consists of three visitors and a stenographer, who work under the direct supervision of the Chief Social Investigator, termed hereafter the "Director." The children under care of this division are those accepted by the city as public wards and boarded in private institutions or placed in free family homes. The visitors are responsible for visits to the families and relatives of the children while they are in institutions; investigations of the applications of families desiring to have children placed with them; placement of children; and supervision of children following placement. In addition to their regular duties the visitors investigate out-of-town inquiries referred to the Supervisors of City Charities and assist the public schools by making all investigations relative to payment of tuition for children living outside the city.

The division is assisted by a case committee, known as the "Children's Bureau," composed of representatives from private agencies and the director of the division. This committee reviews most of the cases of children for whom public care is sought, but the final recommendation is made by the director of the division, and the children are committed by the court, usually the juvenile court, to one of the institutions receiving public funds.

CHILD-PLACING POLICIES

The type of care to be provided for dependent children is stated in the law as follows:

The said supervisors shall have care and supervision over such children as shall be committed to or placed in those institutions with which the city may have contracted and as shall have been duly accepted by said supervisors as proper charges of the city. . . . It shall be the duty of the supervisors as far as is practicable to place all destitute or neglected children who are under their care or in their charge in some institution or home for children, or without payment of board in some respectable family in the State of Maryland and to have the children visited and circumstances carefully examined at least once in every six months by one of the supervisors or by a skilled agent or agents appointed by them for that purpose. (*Ibid.* sec. 107.)

Under this law two types of care are permissible—care in private institutions or with private agencies⁴ with which the city has contracted to board children, and placement in family homes without

⁴ The law was amended in 1931 to include "child-placing agencies." Maryland, *Laws of 1931*, c. 389.

payment of board. No authority is given to provide direct boarding-home care. Thus, the public child-placing work of Baltimore has been limited to free home placements.

The present general policies in regard to child placing are substantially those inaugurated in 1898. At that time it was a fairly general practice in many states for public officials to place children in family homes on indenture, which meant that the family signed a contract to provide care and training for the children with some provision made for services to be performed by the children. Under this plan children were and are virtually bound out during their minority. An agreement very similar to that used under the old indenture plan is still required by the Baltimore Supervisors of City Charities. The family accepting the child for free care signs an agreement to care for him until he reaches the age of 21 years, unless sooner released with the approval of the Supervisors. The contract makes the family responsible for furnishing board and proper clothing and for arranging for school attendance in accordance with the state law, for church attendance, and for the care of the child's health. In addition the families are required to make a small annual payment for the benefit of the child when he becomes of age.⁵ The children may be kept under this agreement until 21 years of age without provision for the payment of reasonable wages when they reach working age.

The children accepted for care generally are referred by private agencies and usually are those for whom it is felt permanent care will be needed. When the division was created an unwritten agreement was entered into with the private agencies that the Supervisors of City Charities would accept only cases in which neglect was the primary cause for need of care. Cases in which destitution was the only problem were to be cared for by private charity. This agreement is not strictly adhered to at the present time.

All court commitments are to an institution with which the city has a contract for board, and legal custody of the child is given to the institution rather than to the Supervisors of City Charities. The institution maintains legal custody even after a child is removed from the institution and placed in a free home, although the children are considered wards of the city which is responsible for their care

⁵ For copy of the agreement form see p. 105.

and support. It was reported that some effort had been made to change the legislation in this particular, but without success.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The study made by the U.S. Children's Bureau was limited to a study of the homes in which children had been placed, the opportunities that these homes offered them, and the place of the children in the family and community life. A general picture of the methods of child placing and the standards observed was obtained from a study of records and from conferences with the workers, but no detailed study of procedures and practices or of the quality of the supervisory visits was undertaken. The record material was too meager to throw such light upon these problems, and it would have been necessary to accompany the agents on their visits to obtain information on the quality of their work. From the records of the child-placing division all available information was obtained, in each case, concerning the child's social history prior to becoming a ward of the city and the chronological history of the care given the child by the agency. A home visit was made in all cases. When possible statements as to schooling were verified.

STANDARDS OF CARE

The standards by which the Children's Bureau measured the quality of the child-placing work have been formulated by specialists in child care and accepted as desirable objectives by child-caring agencies in all parts of the country.⁶ The major points are as follows:

1. The interests of the child should be the sole object, and placement should be made so far as possible to meet each child's needs.
2. Thorough investigation of the child's personal and family background, his health and mental capacity, are essential in understanding his needs.
3. The selection of foster homes should be made only following careful investigations in which sufficient information is obtained to determine the family's suitability as to character, intelligence, experience, training, income, environment, sympathetic attitude, and their ability to give the child proper moral and spiritual training.

⁶ *Dependent and Neglected Children*; report of the committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection on the socially handicapped, pp. 26, 31, 67 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933); *The A B C of Foster-Family Care for Children*, pp. 2, 3 (Washington: U.S. Children's Bureau publication No. 216, 1933).

4. Following placement supervision should be adequate to permit of frequent visits and such services to the child as he may need in making a satisfactory adjustment in the family and community.

5. Each child should be assured of a placement that will afford him a feeling of security; an opportunity to live in a normal family group; sufficient food; adequate shelter; comfortable clothing; care of health; attendance at school, at least as long as the law required or in accordance with his mental capacities; recreational opportunities; an opportunity to take part in the community group activities and normal neighborhood associations; moral and religious training.

CHILDREN UNDER CARE AND CHILDREN INCLUDED IN STUDY

On August 12, 1933, it was reported that 148 children—75 boys and 73 girls—were under active supervision in free family homes.⁷ Sixty-four were white and 84 Negro. Of the 84 Negro children, 56 were in the homes of white families, and 28 were with Negro families.

Only 51 of the 148 children were placed in homes in Baltimore City or the adjacent suburban territory of Baltimore County. The largest numbers of placements in rural areas were in three counties; namely, Queen Anne and Worcester on the "eastern shore," with 23 and 10 cases, respectively, and St. Mary's County in the "tidewater" section between the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, with 21 cases. No children were reported placed in the extreme western part of the state. The remaining children were scattered in other "eastern shore" and "tidewater" counties and in counties near Baltimore.

In the course of this investigation 35 homes were visited. In 30 of these homes one ward was living and in 5 homes two wards. The 40 children whose placements were studied constituted a little more than one-fourth of the total number of children under active supervision in free family homes. In the selection of cases for study an effort was made to obtain a fair sample of the children receiving care. The distribution by sex and race was about the same in the two groups, with a slight preponderance of Negro children among those studied owing to the need for investigation of two types of placements of Negro children, those in Negro homes and those in white

⁷ In addition to the children under active supervision, about 20 children had run away from their placement homes, were in families that had moved and had not been located, or had become one of the family, although not legally adopted, and supervision had been discontinued upon request of the family.

homes. The Negro children, on the whole, were older than the white children. Fourteen white children and 26 Negro children were visited, the same number of boys as of girls—20 each. Their ages ranged from 1 to 19 years; 5 were under 6 years of age, 8 from 6 to 11 years, 14 from 12 to 14 years, and 13 were 15 years or older. Of the 26 Negro children, 20 had been placed in white homes and 6 in Negro homes.

As it seemed desirable to obtain a picture of the present policies and methods of placement, 19 of the children selected for study were

TABLE I
AGES OF WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN UNDER SUPERVISION AND OF CHILDREN SELECTED FOR STUDY LIVING IN WHITE AND NEGRO FAMILIES

AGE	TOTAL CHILDREN		WHITE CHILDREN IN WHITE FAMILIES		NEGRO CHILDREN IN WHITE FAMILIES		NEGRO CHILDREN IN NEGRO FAMILIES	
	Under Care	Studied	Under Care	Studied	Under Care	Studied	Under Care	Studied
Under 3 years.....	12	2	7	2	.....	.....	5	.....
3 years, under 6.....	14	3	11	2	.....	.....	3	1
6 years, under 9.....	15	4	4	1	1	1	10	2
9 years, under 12.....	11	4	2	1	5	4	4	1
12 years, under 15.....	37	14	7	1	26	9	4	2
15 years and over.....	59	13	33	7	24	6	2	.....
Total.....	148	40	64	14	56	20	28	6

those in which the present placement had been made within two years prior to this study. A selection of some cases representing less recent placements was made in order that some of the older children might be visited, as the supervision and placement of older children in free homes presents special problems. Several children of the same family who had been placed in different homes were included.

Placements made in free homes, under contract, are of two general types. Young children, both white and Negro, are placed in homes for adoption, usually in Baltimore City or in adjacent suburban areas. Older children are almost invariably placed in farm homes in the eastern part of the State. Of the total number of children under supervision nearly two-thirds had been placed in farm homes. Be-

cause of the special problems involved in placements in free homes when adoption is not under consideration, 29 of the 35 placements selected for investigation were of this type.

Table I shows the age distribution of all the children under active supervision and of the 40 children whose placement was selected for study. It also gives for the two groups the number of white and Negro children placed with families of their own race and the Negro children placed in white families.

STANDARDS OF PLACEMENT

METHODS USED IN SELECTION OF HOMES

In the placement program of the Supervisors of City Charities there is no separate or definite set-up for the home-finding phase of the work. It is done along with the general work of the staff of the child-caring division. In most cases the initiative comes from the families seeking children, and the "home-finding" consists of investigating the suitability of the homes of these applicants. Written applications are required on forms supplied by the Supervisors. These application forms ask for only very general information covering such points as identifying information about the family, the object in taking a child, the age, sex, and color of the child desired, and the general location of the home.⁸ The selection of the homes is then based upon only two additional sources of information, first, letters from references, to which a great deal of weight is attached, and, second, a single visit to the applicant's home. The information obtained from references, as indicated by the records studied, is limited to brief answers to questions submitted on a form and includes no descriptive or supplementary material that might be of assistance in evaluating the family's standards.⁹ The placement workers stated that in accordance with the policies of the department they seldom made visits to persons vouching for the family or to other individuals in the communities. The reports of home visits were found to be so meager that it was impossible to judge how much knowledge of the home was obtained by the visitor.

The inspection visits to new homes are not undertaken as special

⁸ For application form see p. 106.

⁹ For reference form see p. 108.

work, but are usually made at the time the visitors are in their districts for semi-annual calls on the children under supervision. Although occasionally special visits are made for this purpose, frequently several months elapse between filing of application, correspondence with references, and visit to the home. If the home is approved, it is then placed on the waiting list. It may be several months following the investigation before a child is placed in the home. Additional visits are seldom made prior to placement, even though a considerable period may have intervened between the acceptance of the home and placement.

In the majority of farm-home placements the object of taking a child, as stated in the application, is to obtain assistance on the farm or about the house. These homes, therefore, are in reality work homes, and in the placements the child-caring division of the Supervisors of City Charities is concerned largely with supplying to the applicants a child who will meet their requirements as to age, sex, race, and ability to do the work expected. This applies particularly to the placement of Negro children in white homes. In making these farm-house placements the needs of the child are generally given only secondary consideration. In 12 of the 17 white homes visited in which Negro children were placed, the families had specified in the application the desire to take a Negro child of certain age and sex. In all 12 of these cases the requirements of the applicants as to age, race, and sex had been fulfilled. Practically all these requests were for children under 15 years of age. Seventeen of the Negro children in white homes were between 8 and 13 years of age at the time of their placement, and 5 of the 7 white children in farm homes were between these same ages.

In the rural communities visited it is an accepted custom for the farmers to take children under the placement plan of the Supervisors of City Charities. In some families the custom has prevailed through two generations, the parents of several of the young couples visited in this study having "raised" such children. Some of the families of older persons visited who had a child placed with them also had an older boy or girl whom they took when a youngster. It is customary for one neighbor to follow the example of others and apply for a child. Several of the children visited were placed on adjoining

or neighboring farms, and 13 of the families visited were closely related.

More attention is paid to the child's needs in relation to the foster family when children are placed with a view to possible adoption than in other cases. Such placements were in general those of the younger children, and the work objective did not enter into the question of placement.

UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHILD'S PROBLEMS

Under the present system little information is available concerning the child's personality or his mental and physical condition. The children are generally received by the Supervisors of City Charities from private agencies, whose investigations the child-caring division usually accepts without investigation, and many of the cases are not referred until the family has been broken up. Thus, the division does not have the opportunity to get first-hand knowledge of the strength or weakness of the family ties, and the reports from the agencies with reference to family background are often very limited. The workers of the child-caring division stated that because of pressure of work and general policies of the department they seldom personally consult the individual workers from the other agencies knowing the children, or the records of these agencies.

Thus, knowledge of the child's family background is very limited. In most cases the staff of the Supervisors of City Charities does have contact with the child's family and relatives during the time the child is a ward, but the purpose is usually to obtain help from them or to find suitable relatives with whom to place the children. Reports of visits to the families and relatives were too meager to determine how much additional social information is obtained to assist the workers in understanding the child, but they indicated that emphasis was placed on obtaining financial or other care for the child.

Physical examinations of all children are made at the time of their acceptance as wards, but it is not a routine procedure to examine the child again when he is being considered for placement. The period between acceptance and placement is frequently of considerable length. In half of the cases studied it had been two years or more; in several, as long as 4 or 5 years. As most of the children are boarded

in institutions during the period between acceptance and placement, they may receive physical examinations and health care during that period. These institutions, however, are not required to make regular reports to the Supervisors of City Charities as to the child's progress or as to any treatment given while in the institution. Any such information obtained for individual cases by the workers making the placement is obtained by personal consultation and is not recorded. It was not possible, therefore, to learn from the case records how frequently such information is obtained.

Psychological examinations and personality studies are made upon the initiative of the child-caring division only in special cases presenting outstanding problems. Information as to the child's habits, emotional responses, interests, and special needs is not obtained as a routine measure. Feeble-mindedness or mental instability of one or both parents was reported as a factor in the commitment of children as public wards in the records of more than one-half (22) of the children visited in this study, but in only 6 of these 22 cases were any reports of mental examinations of the children found. How well the staff of the Supervisors of City Charities came to know the children during this boarding period it is not possible to state. Some of the records read contained informal reports made by letter in special cases, usually cases in which the child was troublesome at the institution. The general lack of any sound material as to physical, mental, and personality problems of the children makes it impossible for the workers to give due consideration to their individual needs in placing them. The long periods of boarding care in institutions found in the cases studied, and the lack of regular progress reports, have already been mentioned.

PLACEMENT PROCEDURE

The actual placement procedure is not in accord with accepted standards. Pre-placement home visits in order to prepare the family for the child's coming are not made. The family with whom the child is placed is required to call for him. The representative of the child-caring division does not accompany the child to his new home.

The arrangements are usually made by correspondence, and the foster parents are instructed to call at the office of the Supervisors

of City Charities and there receive directions for getting the child at the institution where he has been cared for. No record is made of the interview with the foster parents when they come for the child, so it was not possible to determine from the case records to what extent they are advised of the child's history or given information as to his personality or characteristics to assist them in understanding his needs. The chief social investigator sometimes conducts the interview, and the visitors stated that they did not always see the foster parents when they called at the office. A form letter is given to the foster parents to present to the institution, which serves as their authority to take the child. The same letter is used in all cases and reads as follows:

The bearer, [Name.....] [Address.....] has applied to take to raise a.....[girl],[boy]. After careful inquiry and visiting the home, we recommend it as a suitable one for the care of such a child. Probably [Name].....may suit him.

Signed, CHIEF SOCIAL INVESTIGATOR

After placement several months frequently elapse before the first visit is made to the home by a worker from the child-caring division. In the cases of 18 of the 31 children in rural homes visited, from 3 to 6 months elapsed before the child was visited; in two cases as much as 9 months. The same procedure is used in the placements in urban areas, and here also long periods elapse without supervision following placement. Under this system practically no opportunity is given for assisting the child in making his adjustment to the new environment.

Transfers of children from one home to another also are usually made without having the visitor take the child to the new home. Sometimes a meeting place is set at which the child is to be delivered to the members of the new family, all the arrangements having been made by correspondence. There is the same possibility that the visitor may not see the child in his new environment for several months following placement. Two cases may be cited as illustrative:

A 14-year-old Negro boy was transferred from one family to another because of reported delinquency. In April the family with whom he had been placed first notified the visitor by letter that they could no longer keep the boy because of his cruelty to animals, laziness, and carelessness with matches. In the

following month (May) the worker made her semi-annual visit to the home. The boy was not transferred until about a month later when all arrangements were made by mail. He was not visited in his new home until the following October.

The transfer of a 17-year-old Negro girl was necessitated by financial conditions in the family with which she had been placed. The arrangements were made by correspondence in May 1933. The daughter of the woman to whom she was transferred called for her at her former home. No visit was reported having been made from the time of the transfer in May to the date of visit for this study in September. At the time of this study another transfer was to be necessary within a short time because of the removal of the family to another State. Correspondence was in progress regarding this next change.

SEPARATION OF CHILDREN BELONGING TO THE SAME FAMILY

The separation of brothers and sisters through placement, not only in different families but in homes widely separated and even in different counties, is not infrequent under the present policies and methods of the Supervisors of City Charities. Of the 9 family groups in which more than one child in a family was visited, there were only 2 in which any of the brothers or sisters were in the same home. In several of these cases the homes were in different counties at considerable distance from each other. In the cases of 10 other children studied in which only one member of the family was visited the records showed that other children had been placed in different homes or were still being cared for in institutions. Visiting between children of the same family in different homes is not encouraged, nor is correspondence between them general. All except a few of the children interviewed stated that they never heard from their brothers or sisters and never saw them.

STANDARDS OF SUPERVISION

The number of visits of the social workers from the child-caring division to the homes in which the children were placed is limited under the present system to the two visits a year required by law, except in cases of extreme emergency. When it is impossible to reach the home because of unfavorable road conditions or when the family is not found at home, return visits are seldom made. In some cases neither the families nor the children are seen during a whole year or longer. Visits are no more frequent to the homes of children placed in Baltimore City or suburban areas than to those in rural

districts. Study of the records of the 40 children visited shows that in none of these cases were more than two visits during a year reported, and in 9 instances periods ranging from nine months to two years elapsed between visits. "Bad roads" or "no one at home" were stated as the reasons for such omissions in most instances. Members of the staff stated that pressure of their other work and the time allotted them for their visits in the rural districts made it difficult to make return calls in an effort to find the family at home, and the policy of the child-caring division did not permit the visitor to make further attempts to visit a home at times other than when she was on her regular semi-annual trip to the locality.

In the case of a 14-year-old Negro boy, neither the family (white) with which the boy was living nor the boy had been seen since September 1931, a period of two years. On the occasion of both calls at the home in 1932, no one had been at home. In May 1933 the visitor had been unable to reach the home because of road construction. This home was the most isolated of any of the homes visited during the study. The family was reported to move frequently and had failed to reply to letters of inquiry regarding the boy sent by the visitor after her failure to reach the home.

Under this rigid policy regarding the number of visits, it is not possible to relate the frequency of visits to the needs in the individual cases. It gives no opportunity to follow up cases in which problems may have arisen. Three cases may be cited as illustrations.

In the report of her last visit to a 14-year-old Negro girl placed in a white home the visitor stated that the "child was not contented in the home." No information was recorded as to the cause for the child's discontent. This visit was reported in May, and no subsequent visit had been made up to the date of this study in September. The visit made for this study disclosed that the home was somewhat crowded, and the girl did not have a suitable place to sleep. No opportunity was given her to associate with girls of her own age or race, nor did she have any opportunity to attend social activities for the Negro people in the neighborhood.

The visitor stated in April that a 13-year-old Negro girl was "forgetful and hard to teach; if does not improve will have to return her." No subsequent visit had been made up to September, and no effort to help in the adjustment was reported. The visit for this study disclosed that the attitude of the family toward the child was purely that toward the girl's ability to do the work expected of her, and they stated that they would return her to the agency when the visitor came around again.

A 12-year-old Negro boy had been reported to the visitor on her last visit in June as being suspected of improper conduct toward the 3-year-old daughter in the family (white). At that time the members of the family had not been absolutely sure that this had occurred. The boy was reported also as difficult to manage. No follow-up visit had been made and at the time of the visit for this study the situation was reported as having become very serious. The woman stated that "she would just wait until the visitor got around" and then tell her that she would have to take the boy.

Reports of the visits to the homes in which children were placed were not written up in narrative form which would show the objectives sought and the results accomplished. It was impossible, therefore, to determine what services actually were rendered by the visitors. From the record material which was available and from the interviews with members of the families emphasis seemed to be put upon investigating complaints made by the families of the failure of the child to meet their needs or of his difficult conduct problems. Except in very special cases supervision did not seem to include continued observation of the health of the child, the making of adjustments in school or community that might be helpful, or interpreting the child's needs to the family. Neither the families nor the children visited seemed to have a clear understanding of the helpful relationship that might exist between the agency worker and themselves. It was apparent that the children have little opportunity to know the visitor, not only because of the infrequency of her visits but also because the child is given little opportunity to talk to the worker by himself. That it was not necessary to interview the child alone was the usual statement made by the visitor in her report. Frequently the visitor does not even see the child, especially if he is attending school or working too far away in the field at the time of her call. In one case studied, out of five visits during a 2-year period the boy was seen only once. The visitors stated that because of limited time the general policy of the department was that they should not wait or make return visits in order to see the child if he could not be seen conveniently when the first call is made. The failure on the part of the families and the children to regard the worker as a person to assist them was further borne out by the fact that they seldom wrote to her between the infrequent visits to tell her of difficulties needing adjustment. They just waited until she came around the next time.

Extreme cases of misconduct, however, were usually reported at once.

RURAL HOME PLACEMENTS (FARMS AND SMALL TOWNS)

CHARACTER OF HOMES VISITED

The standards of living and physical conditions in the 26 rural homes visited were generally satisfactory. Some of the farm homes were above the average in size, upkeep, and standards of furnishings. The others were homes of the average type in their respective communities. Although some of the homes presented unfavorable impressions from the outside, being run down and badly in need of paint and general repairs, they were practically all in good repair and well kept inside. With a few exceptions, the housekeeping standards were good, and the homes were comfortably furnished. The families seemed to be those of average or even superior social standing in the community. In general the farm homes were not isolated, although several were somewhat inaccessible or difficult to reach because the roads on which they were located were narrow dirt roads and sometimes at a distance from the main highway. Practically all the farm homes visited were within 10 miles of a small town or village.

The families visited made no effort to conceal the fact that their main object in taking a child was for the help he could give. This reason was given in all the 17 white homes in which Negro children had been placed, in 6 white homes having white children, and in 1 Negro home. In only 2 of the farm homes visited had children been placed because of the desire of foster parents to adopt the child or to give him real home life and affection. One of these was a white home caring for two children and the other a Negro home.

The white families that had applied for children consisted usually of elderly couples whose own children were grown and had left home or of young married couples with no children or with very young children needing personal care. In almost half of the homes of white families the persons were elderly. The applications from 8 homes showed the ages of the persons applying for children to be 60 years or over. In some of these one member of the family was reported to be over 70.

PLACE OF CHILD IN FAMILY LIFE

The children in homes of their own race were accepted in the family group and accorded all privileges of the home as members of the family. They ate with the family and usually had individual bedrooms. All the bedrooms seen were comfortable, and some were very attractively furnished. The children were free to use reading material and the family living-room. This acceptance in the family group was found even in those homes in which a great deal of work was required of the child.

On the other hand, the Negro children who were placed in white homes were not accepted as members of the family group, and in a number of cases the attitude toward them was found to be decidedly that of master and servant. This was true even where the children were quite young and needed real home life. Fourteen of the Negro children in white homes were under 15 years of age; 5 of these were under 12, 1 being only 7.

These children were in general given only such privileges as it is customary to give to employed Negro help. They did not eat with the family, and sleeping quarters were usually in a room described as being "up the kitchen stairs," which meant a room located at the head of the rear stairs. Most of the rooms seen were very meagerly furnished, sometimes only with a bed and a few hooks for clothing. In a few cases sleeping arrangements were found to be extremely bad.

A Negro girl, 14 years of age, had no room at all, and her bed consisted of a mattress and some blankets which were carried into the kitchen each night. These were stored in a small shed at the rear of the house in the daytime.

Another Negro girl, age 13, was furnished only a cot in the hall on the second floor. This was located just back of the bathroom door, and there was no screen so that she was afforded no privacy.

A 12-year-old Negro boy was furnished a room in a shed in the yard a considerable distance from the house. It had only a bed and a few hooks on the wall for his clothing.

The children usually occupied a bedroom alone unless there was other hired help. They were expected to sit in the kitchen during their leisure time when not able to be out of doors. Very little provision for home recreation was reported. They usually had access to read-

ing material available in the home, but many of the families reported that the children were unable to read beyond the simple school readers.

It should be said, however, that although the Negro children in white homes were not receiving the privileges of family life, in some homes real interest was taken in their welfare and a good attitude was shown toward them.

CLOTHING OF CHILDREN

With a few exceptions the clothing furnished to the white children seemed adequate for comfort and of such quality as to meet the general standards for clothing for other children in the neighborhood. All the older girls visited had rather extensive wardrobes of simple, attractive, cotton dresses. The boys wore overalls for work, but all those visited had at least one good street suit.

The Negro children were not so well provided with clothing. In several cases the child's wardrobe seen by the visitor was very meager and entirely inadequate for comfort. The clothing furnished to the boys seemed much less adequate than that provided for the girls. Most of the Negro children were at work when the visits for this study were made and were dressed in their work clothes. A number of these were torn and ragged. The boys usually had two suits of overalls, one street suit, and perhaps an old sweater. The trousers and coat of some of the street suits seen did not match. As far as could be discovered, the children usually wore street suits only when they went somewhere. Some of the children told the visitors that they did not have suitable clothing to wear to church and consequently did not go.

As the children are required to do their own laundry the clothing was often not as well cared for as it should have been. Several of the families stated that they had to keep after the children all the time to get them to wash their clothes, and the appearance of the clothing in these cases bore out this statement.

HEALTH OF CHILDREN

Practically all the families visited stated that medical care was provided in case of illness or accident. Few families, however,

seemed to have any appreciation of the possible need for health protection through periodic or even occasional examinations, and unless the child had been ill he had received no medical attention whatever. In one or two cases in which physical defects were reported, the family recognized the need for medical attention, and at least had had the child examined.

For a few of the children major operations had been necessary, and one or two of these had received free care in Baltimore through the child-caring division. The cases of accidents reported among the children visited had apparently received adequate medical attention.

The white children who attended school had the benefit of the services of the school nurses in most localities and also of periodic examination of teeth. Failure to send Negro children to school precluded any such health service for them, even though it was reported as available to the children in the Negro schools as well as to those in the white schools in some of the localities visited.

Except dental examinations in school, dental care was almost never provided. The interviews disclosed that many of the Negro children visited had not received any dental care during their entire placement period, and the teeth of a number of these children appeared to need attention very badly.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

School attendance for Negro children, particularly those placed in the homes of white families, was not enforced by the child-caring division in any of the homes visited. This seems to be a generally accepted policy, on the part of both the division and the families. Applications for children which had been approved, and in response to which children had been placed, frequently stated that the child would not be sent to school. In several interviews, in answer to the question regarding school attendance of Negro children, members of the families stated that they were told by the division that they would not have to send the child to school. Instances were found in which the child had been placed in a home so distant from any school for Negro children as to make attendance impossible. On the other hand, children living within easy access to school were not enrolled.

Only 1 of the 20 Negro children visited in white homes had attended school at any time since placement.

In this one case, the boy (age 15) had attended school for about 2 years following his placement. He was taken out of school at the age of 13 in the third grade. The reason stated by the family was that he learned "so many nasty things" at school that they could not send him. The visitor's reports stated that the boy presented sex problems and that as he was feeble-minded, further schooling was not desirable. (No report of any mental examination was found in the record.)

A few of the families visited claimed that the children were given instruction in the home by some member of the family in lieu of public-school attendance. It was impossible to judge in one interview how intensively such home instruction was carried out. In some cases school reports were noted in the agency records, signed by the mother in the family and giving grades and studies undertaken. Most of these school reports indicated that reading, writing, and arithmetic were the major studies taught. Some of the families said that the children could not learn and that they had given up trying to teach them. Two or three of the older children interviewed stated that they really received very little instruction in the home, only now and then a few lessons in reading and writing. Others said that although the family reported such instruction to the agency they were never taught at all. No evidence was found that the home instruction was in quality or amount adequate to take the place of public-school attendance. It was obvious that some of the Negro children were of low-grade mentality and might not have been capable of doing the required school work. As the child-caring division, except in special cases, does not have mental examinations made, no adequate information is available in the majority of cases on which to base a decision as to the child's mental fitness for school attendance.

The children placed in families of their own race generally attend school, at least to the full requirements of the compulsory school attendance law. Some effort is made to encourage the families in which white children are placed to permit the children to continue school beyond this. Although no such cases were found among those studied, the visitors of the child-caring division cited cases in which children were attending high school. Some of the white children

visited had completed the eighth grade before leaving school. Others had left when they reached 16 years, without having completed the eighth grade. The white children attended school regularly, although instances of late enrolment after the fall crops were harvested and some absences to help with work were reported.

WORK DONE BY THE CHILDREN

The amount of work required of the children varied greatly. In general boys of 15 or over, both white and Negro, assisted in the farm work, including all work that might be expected of an adult. Some of the younger boys were reported as helping only with the lighter chores, such as carrying in wood and water, tending to the poultry, and in several cases helping in the kitchen, whereas others did heavier work, such as milking and plowing or other tasks in the field. The girls generally did only housework. The amount and type of tasks varied with the age of the girl. Some also had outdoor tasks, assisting with the poultry and keeping the yard clean. Several did all the work expected of a servant except that few had any of the family laundry work to do. Practically all the Negro children in white families, both boys and girls, did their own laundry, often including their bedding.

It was not possible in one visit to a home to determine definitely to what extent the work required was in excess of the child's age and strength. Instances of heavy tasks were reported. For example:

A 10-year-old Negro girl stated to the Children's Bureau visitor that she was expected to do all the dishes (the household consisted of six members), wait on the table, scrub four floors, care for the yard, including mowing the grass and picking up leaves (the yard was a very large one), care for her own room, and do her own laundry work. When the visitor called she was washing dishes, and she was scarcely a head taller than the dish-pan on the table.

A 13-year-old Negro girl was required to do all the cooking, sweep and scrub the floors, feed the poultry, and clean the bathroom. She did her own laundry and helped to care for the grandchildren, 3 and 5 years of age.

One of the 13-year-old white boys living with an elderly couple, both over 60, was required to do all the chores, milk two cows, and help in the house with the dishes and sweeping. The man was away from home frequently, leaving the boy in charge. On the day of the visit for this study he was home from school cutting tobacco.

When visited the boys, even those as young as 11 and 12 years, were doing various kinds of work in the fields. Some were picking tomatoes, others were helping in cutting and stacking corn. A general impression was gained that most of the families gave some consideration to the strength and ability of the child in his work assignments.

According to the placement contract used, the families must deposit with the Supervisors of City Charities \$10 a year for children between 14 and 18 years of age. When the child becomes 18, the family is required to pay wages commensurate with the services performed, of which \$3 a month must be sent to the child-caring division to be held for the child. Five children 18 years of age or over and four 16 or 17 years of age were visited. None of these was receiving any money compensation for the full-time service except for the \$3 a month paid into the trust fund. In some of the homes visited it was reported that they were given what spending money they needed, but no reliable information could be obtained as to the actual amount allowed. Spending money is not a large item if the boy or girl seldom leaves the farm. Only one family interviewed showed any appreciation of the fact that the child should be receiving reasonable wages. The members of this family had not felt that they could afford to do so but were giving the matter serious consideration. A few children had been given opportunities to earn a little extra money in various ways. Some had received tips from visitors, apparently for personal services rendered. One boy had been given a pig to raise and sell; another had been allowed to have the proceeds from selling a certain amount of tobacco.

COMPANIONSHIP AND PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Social contacts and participation in community activities by the Negro boys and girls placed in the homes of white families were extremely limited. They did not attend school and were therefore deprived of the usual school companionships with children of their own age. Church and Sunday-school attendance at churches for their own people was not generally allowed. Some were taken to the church attended by the family. Such attendance was reported by most of the families interviewed, but a number of the children in

these same families stated that they rarely were taken to church or Sunday school. The children were sometimes taken to town with the family on Saturdays. It seemed to be a firmly established policy among all the white families that the Negro children should not be allowed to associate with other children of their own race in the neighborhood except children also placed by the child-caring division. Two reasons were given for this—a general one that if it were permitted the children became dissatisfied and upset and did not attend to their work properly, and, in certain localities, that it was in order to protect them from discrimination by the local Negro people. This policy of not allowing them to associate with the local people of their own race was concurred in by the child-caring division.

For only three of the Negro children visited were any social contacts with children other than those on placement in the neighboring homes or older Negro children in the same home reported. These were all 16 years of age or over. In one of these cases, quite satisfactory plans had been worked out by the family so that the girl could have supervised social activities.

This girl, 19 years of age, is permitted to attend some of the social functions of the Negro people and has been provided with a suitable "party dress" for the occasions. Arrangements were made by the family for her to go to these affairs with a very reliable Negro family in the neighborhood. She is also permitted to have a young man from a neighboring town to call on her. He wrote to the family asking their permission to "keep company" with her, which permission was granted. She entertains him at the home and is not permitted to go away with him alone. They meet at the social functions, but the girl always goes with a Negro family. The family with which the girl is placed shows a very fine attitude toward her and appreciates both the possible dangers involved and the need for her having associates and some social life.

Community activities for Negroes in general were limited in many of the localities visited. The social life centered around the church organizations and activities and the country stores, where the men and boys loafed.

The children, both white and Negro, placed with their own race were found to have more normal social activities. They attended church and Sunday school quite generally and participated in the social activities of the church. They usually associated with children of their own age in the neighborhood.

Very little encouragement was given to the children to keep in touch with members of their own families. Except where children of the same family are placed in families in the same vicinity, they rarely visit their brothers or sisters. Visits with parents and relatives are not arranged for the children even when this would seem to be desirable. Correspondence is not usual between the children and their families.

URBAN PLACEMENTS

The number of children placed in Baltimore City and its suburbs is considerably smaller than the number of placements in farm or small-town homes. The majority of these urban placements are of younger children, many of pre-school age, who have been placed with the idea of possible adoption, although a few older children have been placed in the city after unsuccessful trials in farm homes. Of the 51 children under active supervision in Baltimore City and Baltimore County at the time of this study, almost half (24) were of pre-school age. Only 3 were over 16 years old. In urban areas children are placed only with families of their own race.

The procedure is practically the same in urban as in rural placements. As far as the records indicated, the investigations in the selection of homes included, as in the rural placements, only the information received on the application, in the letters from references, and from the single home visit. Contracts are required even when the child is placed with the idea of possible adoption. Frequently adoption is apparently postponed, and the child remains indefinitely under the contract of placement. In this situation there is danger of these urban homes also becoming work homes.

Because of the special safeguards necessary in placement for adoption and in placement of children who have been unsatisfactory in farm homes, greater effort is made in these cases to study the child and his needs before placement. Studies of mentality and personality problems are more often requested for both groups, either before placement or as soon as a child is old enough to assure a satisfactory diagnosis. If adoption is planned, the prospective foster parents are informed in detail of the child's family background by the child-caring division.

Following placement the supervision is limited, as in the farm homes, to the two visits a year required by law. Sometimes foster parents living in the city call at the office to see the visitors between the semi-annual visits to the home. The records for these urban placements were no more complete than for the rural, and the extent of the actual services rendered was not recorded.

For this study eight homes in Baltimore City and its environs which might be described as adoptive homes and one work home were visited. The standards of living and the physical conditions in all these homes, both of white and of Negro families, were generally very satisfactory. The homes, with one or two exceptions, were comfortably and attractively furnished. The families were of good social standing in their respective communities. The neighborhoods, except those in which two of the Negro families were living, were not congested, and all were accessible to stores, transportation, school, and constructive recreational facilities.

The children were accepted as members of the family group and were given the privileges of normal family life. The younger children were well supplied with toys, and the children of school age regularly attended school. An 8-year-old Negro girl was receiving piano lessons. All the foster parents interviewed, both white and Negro, were intelligent and seemed to realize the health and educational needs of the children as well as the necessity for normal social activities and family affection. Special health care had been needed for three of the children visited. These three children had been placed in foster homes while in very poor physical condition with the full knowledge of the foster parents. The special care necessary had been provided, and at the time of the study all three were reported by their foster mothers to be in good physical condition. Two were still being taken regularly to nearby public health clinics. In two other cases, the families had routine physical examinations given the children by the family physician.

This study showed that placements with a view to adoption of children whose histories indicated possible physical or mental defects were not infrequent under the present policies of the agency. Seven of the eight children visited in prospective adoptive homes came from families in which one of the parents was definitely feeble-

minded or in an institution for the insane. The eighth child had been deserted by both parents, concerning whom nothing was known.

Two of the Negro children, sisters, aged 8 and 10 years, belonged to a family of 11 children, of whom 8, including these 2, were wards of the Supervisors of City Charities. All the 8 children have been placed in homes. These 2 girls and a 12-year-old boy in a farm home were in the homes of high-grade Negro families, expecting to adopt the children. Five were placed with white families. The mother was reported as feeble-minded and immoral, but no record of mental examination was shown. Her reputed husband, who was the father of the older children in the family, died in 1929. The younger children are all very light in color, and the agency has never been able to establish their paternity. The youngest child is definitely known to be of illegitimate birth. No report was found in the record of a mental study for these two girls, and the foster parents reported that none had been made since their placement.

Although it is the policy of the child-caring division to urge that adoption be postponed until the child is of an age to permit a satisfactory mental examination children were found in this survey of sufficient age whose family history indicated the need for examination who were not examined.

In another case, that of a 3-year-old girl placed for adoption, the mother was reported to have a mental age of 7 years. This child is of illegitimate birth, and the father is unknown. The mother's husband, the father of two older children, was committed to the insane department of the city hospital in 1928. One of these older children had been legally adopted at the age of 5 years, placement having been made by the Supervisors of City Charities. The second child has been studied at a mental clinic and was receiving the type of care recommended by the psychologist. No mental examination was reported to date for the child visited in this study. The report of a physical examination almost three months previous to placement stated that the 3-year-old child had a positive venereal condition, which was reported as cleared up before placement. The foster mother said they expected to take out adoption papers within a couple of months. They have been told of the child's family history but did not seem to appreciate the need for a thorough examination before adoption. The family physician told them that the child was normal.

SUMMARY

The findings in this study show certain weaknesses in the methods, standards, and procedures of the child-placing program of the Supervisors of City Charities as compared with some of the standards generally accepted in good child-placing work (see p. 82).

One of the basic weaknesses is the exclusive use of free home

placements, which is required by law. A well-rounded child-placing program should include the use of boarding homes and wage homes, as well as free homes. Boarding-home care is often desirable in the placement of children who need some specialized care and for whom suitable free homes are difficult to find. It is particularly desirable for children whose history indicates possible mental defect or instability, at least until the child is of such age as to assure satisfactory mental examinations and the possibility of making a prognosis as to his future development. The payment of reasonable compensation to children of wage-earning age for services rendered should be one of the requirements in the policies governing the placement of older children.

Under the present policies of the Supervisors of City Charities only a small number of children are placed in homes that conform to acceptable standards for free homes; the majority are placed in work homes. This is true even for children below a wage-earning age. As a result the need of the child for a certain type of home has been of secondary consideration, as the major requirement has been to supply to the families making application children who will meet their needs as to age, sex, race, and ability to do the work expected of them.

Another serious problem under the present system is the placement of Negro children with white families. Such placements have not made possible normal family life for these children as they are not accepted as members of the family group. This study also shows that although many of these Negro children were of school age, they did not attend school. Furthermore, they were not permitted to associate with other Negro children or to take part in social activities in the local communities. The children placed with families of their own race were found to have more normal family and social life.

The present standards of the agency as to methods of home-finding, supervision, services rendered to the children, and records do not meet those generally accepted for child-placing work. A more thorough study should be made of the prospective foster family in the selection of homes, assistance should be given the child in making adjustments in the new environment, supervision should include

such details as watching his health and dental needs, assisting in making school and social adjustments, and helping the foster family understand the child.

The department has been seriously handicapped by an extremely limited staff. The present staff of only three visitors is responsible not only for the child-placing program of the department, but also for services to children in institutions. Only a very small proportion of their time can be spent in home-finding, supervision, and visits to the children. The clerical staff has also been too small to make possible the keeping of records of such type or quality as to be of assistance in making plans for the children referred for placement and supervision.

RUTH BLOODGOOD

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

AGREEMENT

THE SUPERVISORS OF CITY CHARITIES of Baltimore City, State of Maryland, having consented to place.....a white, colored boy, girl, aged.....
years on the.....day of.....19.....,
under our care and protection, we, the undersigned, do hereby agree and promise in the presence of the undersigned witnesses:

To treat him, her with all the care, gentleness and forbearance we should wish exercised toward our own child under like circumstances.

To clothe him, her suitably and comfortably at all times and provide him, her comfortable sleeping quarters.

To retain him, her until he, she has had a fair trial of two months, and then if satisfied with him, her to keep him, her until he, she shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years; but if after said trial we desire to return him, her, to do so at our own expense and be responsible for his, her safe arrival at the institution or place designated by the Supervisors of City Charities, after giving ten days' notice of our desire so to return him, her, which notice shall be given immediately upon expiration of said trial, and thereafter we will not attempt to return him, her without the consent of the Supervisors of City Charities.

To give him, her proper medical attention in case of sickness or accident, and have him, her gentlyly buried at our expense in the event of his, her death.

To require him, her to attend day school regularly and punctually according to School Attendance Law, until he, she shall attain his, her sixteenth year, and encourage him, her to study at home while he, she remains under our care.

To require of him, her the observance of the Sabbath and see that he, she attends Church and Sabbath School whenever the weather and his, her health will permit.

To require of him, her strict obedience and endeavor to protect him, her from evil example.

To teach him, her to do such work as is suited to his, her strength and train him, her in correct moral habits.

To allow no correspondence with his, her relatives without the consent of the Supervisors of City Charities, and to inform the Supervisors of City Charities immediately if the relatives or any one else interferes with us in his, her possession.

To deliver him, her up to no one but an officer or agent of the Supervisors of City Charities, unless required by law.

To answer promptly and fully any questions the Supervisors of City Charities may ask about the child and to give the officer, agent or visitor of the Supervisors of City Charities free access to our home and every facility, to investigate fully the condition of the child.

To notify the Supervisors of City Charities promptly of any change of address.

Should he, she leave us we will at once inform the Supervisors of City Charities and make every effort to recover him, her.

On his, her thirteenth birthday we promise to give him, her ten dollars (\$10.00) and thereafter yearly until he, she is eighteen years old, the final gift to be made on his, her eighteenth birthday, these amounts to be forwarded yearly to the Supervisors of City Charities, to be deposited by them in bank to his, her account.

Between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one we will pay him, her wages according to his, her ability and will send \$3.00 or more per month of his, her wages to the Supervisors of City Charities to be deposited in bank to his, her account.

We will come or send some responsible person for him, her and will pay his, her traveling expenses to our residence, and report to the Supervisors of City Charities immediately upon his, her arrival at our residence. We further agree and promise to return him, her immediately to the Supervisors of City Charities, if they should at any time so require.

[Dotted lines following here give space for signatures of applicant and four witnesses as well as residence of applicant, date of placement, and date of signature.]

APPLICATION FORM

[FACE]

This form to be filled in by applicant and returned to

SUPERVISORS OF CITY CHARITIES, BALTIMORE, MD.

1. Age, sex and color of child desired?.....
2. Would child eat with family?.....Would it be treated in all respects as a member of the family?.....
3. What is the object in taking a child?.....
4. Has application ever been made to any other Agency?.....If so, what Agency?.....
Have any children been taken before?.....If so, from whom?.....
5. What is the nearest railroad station?.....Distance and direction from house?.....What is the nearest steamboat landing?.....
Distance and direction from house?.....
What is the nearest Postoffice?.....Distance and direction from house?.....

6. Religion of applicant?.....Distance from church?.....
Are family regular attendants?.....Pastor's name and address?.....
.....
7. Distance from public school?.....Will child be sent to school,
and for how many months?.....
8. Name and age of each person living in the home:
- | NAME | AGE |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| [Seven dotted lines follow here.] | |
9. Is there any hired help?.....Do they eat with the family?.....
Do they sleep in the same house?.....Are there any boarders at any
season?.....
10. What is the occupation of the head of the family?.....How
long has he lived at his present residence?.....Does he own his
home?.....
11. Name and address of family doctor and five other references (*not relatives*) who
know the home and family personally—
- | NAME | ADDRESS |
|---|---------|
| [Six dotted lines follow here and also lines for signatures of applicant (if married,
both husband and wife sign) and address and date.] | |

[REVERSE]

SYNOPSIS OF AGREEMENT

To board child—clothe him suitably and comfortably and provide comfortable sleeping quarters for him.

To see that he attends church and Sunday School when weather and health will permit.

To see that child attends school for the time required by new school attendance law, which went into effect September 1916.

To pay to the Supervisors of City Charities for him \$10.00 yearly from 13th to 18th birthday inclusive.

Between ages of eighteen and twenty-one to pay wages according to his ability.

To come or send some responsible party for him and to return him to the Supervisors of City Charities immediately if they should at any time so require.

To answer promptly any questions of the Supervisors of City Charities and allow their agent free access to visit the child and home.

To give child fair trial of two months and if satisfied with him to keep him until 21 years old.

RUTH BLOODGOOD

FORM FOR REFERENCES

DEPARTMENT OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

SUB-DEPARTMENT

SUPERVISORS OF CITY CHARITIES

CITY HALL

BALTIMORE, MD.....193.....

Mr.....

Dear Sir:

Will you give us some information about the home of

.....

They have applied to take a white colored boy girl aged about..... years from one of the institutions. Before placing a child in a private home we endeavor to learn something of the family into which it may go, and it would greatly assist us if you would frankly reply to the following questions; and as the welfare of the child will possibly rest upon your report, we ask that you give it serious consideration, and promise that your reply will be held confidential.

Thanking you in advance, and asking for a prompt reply, we are,

Very truly yours,

SUPERVISORS OF CITY CHARITIES,

.....
Chief Service Investigator

Do you know Mr.....to be a strictly temperate man?.....

What, in general, is the financial condition of the family?.....

Are they kind, even-tempered people?.....

In your judgment are they capable of training a child mentally and morally?.....

Would you consider it in every respect a desirable home for a child?.....

Will you kindly state any further particulars that might assist us?.....

[Three dotted lines follow here as well as lines for date of reply and signature.]

SOURCE MATERIALS

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND POOR RELIEF:¹

FURTHER TESTIMONY BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE²

The Royal Commission has invited me to give evidence on certain aspects of the relations between Unemployment Insurance and poor law relief. . . . I do not express any opinion on the question of whether or in what manner the system of Unemployment Insurance should be restricted: I am dealing only with the poor law aspects of the subject, on which I was specifically asked for evidence. Other witnesses have proposed to the Commission that persons ceasing to be qualified for unemployment benefit should be dealt with by entirely new schemes of assistance not at present in existence. I do not pretend to discuss in this memorandum the merits of the poor law in relation to such other schemes.

Broadly speaking, the Poor Law Authorities are responsible for relieving destitution no matter where or how it arises. Persons who are without means of support and in need of assistance are entitled to demand it from the Poor Law Authority, regardless of age, sex, occupation, nationality, domicile, or moral character. In days gone by there was much discussion and litigation concerning the settlement of paupers, and the law on the subject led to the scandalous ill-treatment of the poor. But the position has now been changed by legislation and the matter is no longer of importance.

The primary obligations which fall on the Poor Law Authorities were first laid down by the Poor Law Act of 1601 (43 Eliz. ch. 2). They have

¹ By William A. Robson, Lecturer in Industrial and Administrative Law at the London School of Economics.

² From *Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence Taken before the British Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance*, Part VIII, "Memoranda Received with Particular Reference to Arrangements (other than Insurance) for Able-Bodied Unemployed Workers" (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1932), pp. 557-65. For other extracts from the Testimony before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, see this *Review*, Vol. VII, pp. 272-319, "Mrs. Sidney Webb before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance," and pp. 659-75, "Some Testimony before the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance (1) by Sir William Beveridge and (2) by Mr. R. C. Davison."

been preserved intact during all the vicissitudes through which the poor law has passed, and are repeated in the Poor Law Consolidation Act, 1930, S. 15, as follows:—

It shall be the duty of the Council of every County and County Borough—

(a) to set to work all such persons, whether married or unmarried, as have no means to maintain themselves, and use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by;

(b) to provide such relief as may be necessary for the lame, impotent, old, blind and such other persons as are poor and not able to work;

(c) to set to work or put out as apprentices all children whose parents are not, in the opinion of the Council, able to keep and maintain their children.

There are separate provisions dealing with casuals, and others which call for the establishment of casual wards. But no one may lawfully be relieved who does not fall within one of the three categories set out above.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that during more than three hundred years of legislation and administration, no authoritative definition appears ever to have been laid down as to the meaning of the word destitute. A useful statement was made by Mr. Adrian, K.C., Legal Adviser to the Local Government Board, in the course of his evidence before the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1905-1909. Mr. Adrian then said, when asked how he defined destitution from the legal point of view:—

Destitution, when used to describe the condition of a person as a subject for relief, implies that he is for the time being without material resources (i) directly available and (ii) appropriate for satisfying his physical needs (a) whether actually existing or (b) likely to arise immediately. By physical needs in this definition are meant such needs as must be satisfied (i) in order to maintain life or (ii) in order to obviate, mitigate or remove causes endangering life or likely to endanger life or impair health or bodily fitness for self-support.

From this it appears that the essential element of destitution is not the lack of material resources of any kind, but the lack of those which are available and appropriate for immediate use. It is to be noted, however, that as regards the able-bodied unemployed, the local authorities are authorised under S. 15 (1) (a) of the Poor Law Act to relieve only those who are able to work and cannot find it. If a man is able to obtain work for wages, no relief can be given so long as he is able-bodied. Thus, a person who, being on strike or locked-out, refuses to return to work which is available to him at a wage which is "reasonable" from the point of view of the public cannot be relieved even if he believes that the wage offered

is unreasonable. [*Attorney-General v. Merthyr Tydfil* (1900) 1 Ch. 516.] The view of the Ministry of Health (expressed in Circular 703, dated 5th May, 1926), is that no relief can be given to any person on strike; but the cases only decide that the question to be considered is whether work is available, and that the reason for unemployment in the first place is immaterial. The only question which the council have to ask is whether there is work now available. But the rule laid down by the Courts does not apply to the family of a poor person. They may be relieved, if destitute, even though the man could have obtained work which he has refused. In that event, however, he is liable to prosecution under the Vagrancy Act for failing to maintain his family. Furthermore, if a man who has refused work becomes so reduced by privation as to be no longer able to work he may then be relieved under paragraph (b) of Section 15 (1) of the Poor Law Act.

I will briefly recall to the Royal Commission two outstanding features in the development of the Poor Law. First, there has been the gradual emergence of a series of specialized institutions and services such as infirmaries, schools, asylums, maternity hospitals and so forth, for provision of relief and treatment in kind of a sort entirely unforeseen by the original framers of the Elizabethan Poor Law and their successors in the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries. In the second place, there has been a notable movement in the direction of detaching these institutions from association with the poor law; or, to describe the matter in another way, of assimilating the treatment of destitute persons requiring certain kinds of institutional relief with the treatment provided for non-pauper members of the community with similar needs. It would serve no useful purpose to trace the rise of the various social services now available for the general body of self-supporting citizens. What I am here concerned to point out is the increasing tendency to obliterate the distinction between certain classes of paupers and non-paupers. The highwater-mark in this connection was reached by the Local Government Act of 1929, which transferred to the county and county borough councils all the functions previously exercised by the Guardians of the Poor.

Section 5 of the Act enacted that a council, in preparing an administrative scheme for carrying out the new duties, shall have regard to the desirability of securing that, as soon as circumstances permit, all assistance which could lawfully be provided otherwise than by way of poor relief shall be so provided. Accordingly, a scheme may declare that any assistance which could be provided either by way of poor relief or by vir-

tue of any of the following Acts (as amended by any subsequent enactment):—

The Public Health Act, 1875,
The Local Government Act, 1888,
The Mental Deficiency Act, 1913,
The Maternity and Child Welfare Act, 1913,
The Blind Persons Act, 1920,
The Public Health (Tuberculosis) Act, 1921,
The Education Act, 1921,

shall be provided exclusively by way of the appropriate social service Act and not by way of poor relief. The duty of a council to provide relief for the poor under the Poor Law Act is, however, expressly preserved.

This section does nothing to enlarge the powers of local authorities. What it does is to enable county or county borough councils who were previously empowered to provide various benefits under the social service statutes specified and who could (after the transfer of functions) also provide similar benefits under the Poor Law, to declare that henceforth any benefit of the kind mentioned in the declaration shall henceforward be regarded as having been provided exclusively as assistance under the social service statute and not by way of poor relief. Thus ambiguity may be removed and large numbers of destitute persons treated under the social service legislation instead of by poor relief. A good number of local authorities, particularly the county borough councils, have taken advantage of these powers and made the necessary declarations in the schemes which are called for under the Act.

It can thus be seen that the Local Government Act 1929 goes a considerable way towards promoting the transformation of poor relief into social assistance. I am here concerned to point out two far-reaching social effects of this tendency.

In the first place, the status of a pauper does not attach to persons who receive assistance under the social service legislation even though they are in fact destitute. I use the word "status" to refer to a definite legal condition. The pauper status connotes a series of disabilities, actual or potential, suffered by persons who receive a poor law relief. For the convenience of the Commission, the more important of these are set out in an appendix to this Memorandum. Shortly stated, the receipt of relief, whether "ordinary" or medical, whether given outright or on loan, whether indoor or outdoor, in cash or in kind, diminishes the legal capacity of the person relieved, and in some cases, where the person relieved is a wife

or child, that of the husband or parent as well. The destitute person so relieved is deprived of valuable common law rights possessed by the general body of citizens. He is disqualified from holding office on important local governing bodies. He is prevented, while an inmate of a Poor Law Institution, from obtaining the residence qualification required for the franchise for both Parliamentary and Municipal Elections. He is denied various economic advantages provided by social legislation, to which he would otherwise be entitled, and adversely affected in regard to social insurance and old age pensions. He may be temporarily separated from his wife, and permanently deprived of his rights as a parent. He comes under the jurisdiction of an additional penal code, administered by Poor Law officials, and distinct from that by which the generality of citizens are governed. He may be subjected, without trial or even investigation by a court of law, to a series of punishments analogous to those inflicted under the criminal law for recognised crimes and misdemeanours, and these punishments are imposed by local officials without judicial experience or legal training.

In my opinion nearly all these disabilities are entirely unsuited to modern conditions, and should be abolished.

I come in the second place to the question of the stigma of pauperism. This is far more imponderable than the status of pauperism. In the past, and particularly after the important reforms of 1834, there accreted round the poor law a series of influences which had the effect of making the recipient of poor relief feel that by going to the union he lowered himself in the eyes of his fellows. This contingent loss of self-respect and of the esteem of others incurred by those who threw themselves on the poor law was for long a most potent deterrent. It seems clear, however, that its force has diminished to a marked degree, and is likely to continue to do so. Now that poor law children attend the ordinary municipal schools instead of going to poor law schools; now that sick paupers are treated in hospitals side by side with non-pauper patients; and pauper lunatics received in county asylums together with other lunatics and so forth and so on, it is only to be expected that the distinction between pauper and non-pauper should become blurred. In consequence the stigma of pauperism no longer operates with anything like its old force. All this relates especially to institution relief. The diminution in the force of the stigma of pauperism is still more pronounced in the sphere of outdoor relief. I mention this at the outset because it may be well to dispose at an early stage of one of the principal moral factors involved in the poor law. I believe that the tendency to humanise the Poor Law should be encour-

aged and strengthened in every way, and the stigma reduced to the lowest possible point.

The poor law, it may be said, is the last and ultimate drag-net for all sorts and conditions of men, women and children who become destitute. When the social services do not avail, when the conditions laid down for the issue of contributory old age, widows, orphans or blind persons pensions have not been fulfilled, when the tests for non-contributory old-age pensions are not satisfied, when the right to insurance benefit is exhausted, when all else fails, the poor law remains in the background as an ultimate standby for those in extreme need. It is the residuary legatee of the social services.

The necessity for such a standby has been universally recognised in this country for more than three and a quarter centuries. The need for it to-day can clearly be seen when we compare its universality and ubiquity with the rigorously selective and exclusive system of unemployment insurance. Unemployment insurance is based essentially on the particular form of work we call employment and it is, moreover, confined to certain kinds of employment. The poor law is not specially concerned with the employed classes; it is concerned with the poor, whatever their occupation. Its basis is territorial. It lays down no statutory conditions corresponding to those contained in the unemployment insurance scheme nor does it include disqualifications at all analogous.

When the Commission comes to enquire into the question of what provision should be made for persons ceasing to be qualified for insurance benefit—and I make no attempt to discuss who should or should not be so qualified—I submit that serious attention should be given to the following considerations:—

First, it is inequitable and undesirable that a distinction should be maintained at every stage in the system of collective provision between unemployed persons requiring assistance and other persons of similar income-classes who are not unemployed but who also need assistance. The systems of national health insurance and unemployment insurance give very large preferential advantages to employed workers as compared with persons working on their own account in a small way as shopkeepers, hawkers and so forth. I have had considerable experience as a referee hearing appeals under the Widows', Orphans' and Contributory Old Pensions Acts, and I am greatly impressed by the hardships and anomalies caused by the existing rigid division between employment and other forms of work. Large numbers of men who fall out of employment take up work on their own account as hawkers or petty merchants or independent contractors (e.g. chopping wood, cleaning windows or chimneys etc.) hoping to maintain themselves wholly or partly

by those means until such time as they can find their way back to remunerative employment in their normal occupation. As things are at present, such persons quickly become disqualified for unemployment insurance benefit, and normally cease to be insured contributors under the Health Insurance Act and the widows and contributory old age pension scheme unless they become voluntary contributors. It is assumed that employment and these other forms of work are much more rigidly separated than is in fact the case. I therefore suggest that to continue the separation outside the Unemployment Insurance Acts is undesirable in the interests of the unemployed themselves.

Second, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there must come a point in the disbursement of public funds for the relief of poverty where family earnings have to be considered. The principle of giving additional allowances for dependants, which is recognized in the Unemployment Insurance Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Poor Law and the Widow's Pensions Acts, involves the converse principle that, where the person requiring assistance is himself partly dependent on the earnings of other members of the household, that fact should be taken into account.

It follows from this that I am not in favour of giving a fixed sum as maintenance allowance to persons not qualified for insurance benefit, regardless of the domestic and family circumstances of the individual concerned. In my opinion it is both expedient and equitable that the question of need should be taken into account. Once the existence of need has been established, however, I consider that a destitute person should have an absolute right to be relieved, though not necessarily to stipulate the form of relief.

The poor law is at present highly unsatisfactory in respect of this last-mentioned matter. A destitute person appears to have no right whatever to enforce the grant of relief, no matter how great his need nor how completely he has proved it. The Poor Law Act 1930 (S. 79) provides that if a relieving officer refuses or neglects to give relief, in any case of sudden or urgent necessity, to any person not settled or resident in the area, a justice of the peace may order temporary relief to be given; and if a relieving officer disobeys such an order he is liable to a fine of £5. This, however, only applies to the exceptional cases of persons not resident or settled in the area. Section 17 deals in similar fashion with medical relief ordered by a justice of the peace in a case of sudden and dangerous illness. And since *R. v. Curtis* (1885) 15 Cox C.C. 746 a relieving officer may be indicted for manslaughter if a person to whom he refuses relief dies as a result of such refusal, or if his death is accelerated thereby. Another provision (Section 46) gives power to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to

order outdoor relief to be given to the aged and infirm. But all this is cumbersome and indirect. It covers exceptional cases only and does not include the normal instance of the able-bodied unemployed. It imposes liabilities and threats of punishment on the relieving officer but confers no rights on the poor. At no point is a *right to relief* ever given to the destitute person. In my opinion this is essential, for moral reasons no less than for reasons of law and policy.

The poor law is unsatisfactory in that it provides no real guidance as to when relief—whether indoor or outdoor—is to be given. Destitution is supposed to be the test of need. But what does destitution mean? Is a person destitute when he or she is without adequate income from any source? And if so, what does adequate mean? Is a person destitute who possesses a house and furniture? Quite elementary questions such as these have never been authoritatively answered, with the result that there are great variations in the practice of different local authorities in the matter.

In my submission vagueness and ambiguity are extremely undesirable in a matter of such vital importance as the maintenance of the unemployed. What the situation appears to call for is (1) a system of relief based upon need, (2) a clear definition of the manner in which need is to be determined and assessed. This should be formulated authoritatively for the whole country by the central government. I would refer in this connection to the elaborate and complex formulae contained in the Workmen's Compensation Act for determining the amount of compensation payable to an injured workman. The amount of wages before and after the accident, the number and ages of children, and other relevant factors are taken into account. I do not suggest that so unwieldy a model should be taken for the purpose of determining the existence and extent of need. I merely point to it as an example of the care which has been taken in one particular field of legislation to define in precise terms what Parliament considers to be the need of the recipient. In the case of persons no longer qualified for unemployment benefit for whom outdoor maintenance is to be given it would seem desirable to take into account such items as the number and ages of children and other dependants in the household, family earnings, rent and rates payable, approximate value of household effects, etc.

What I have suggested so far is that maintenance should be based on need, and that a careful definition of need, to include all relevant factors, should be laid down by Parliament or the central government. Provided the test of need is satisfied, the individual seeking assistance should be

entitled as of right to maintenance or institutional relief. There would be no discretion left to the administering authority in these primary matters beyond that involved in applying the test of need and in deciding whether to offer indoor or outdoor relief.³

There is little doubt in my opinion that a need test such as is here envisaged should be administered by the local poor law authorities. This becomes increasingly evident if we consider as an alternative administration by the central government. The only local machinery at present possessed by the central government are the post offices, which are clearly unsuitable; the local employment exchanges which are also unsuitable for the work, if for no other reasons on the grounds that, were they brought in, the distinction between unemployment insurance and poor law relief which it is desirable to preserve will tend to be lost, while the undesirable separation between those who are unemployed and others who need assistance but are not technically unemployed will be accentuated. The only other central agencies are the local offices of the customs and excise which carry out certain functions in connection with old age pensions and the local pension staff of the Ministry of Health. I shall contend later that the Ministry of Health ought not to be the central department charged with supervising the administration of outdoor relief: I may anticipate my remarks under that head by objecting to the use of their local offices for applying a need test. There is, it will thus be seen, no machinery suitable for the task already at the disposal of the central government.

The idea of establishing special administrative machinery to act on behalf of the central government for the sole purpose of carrying out the investigations mentioned above may be dismissed as impractical on the score of expense alone. To set up special machinery would be both extravagant and inefficient, having regard to the fact that it will in any case be necessary to maintain the existing elaborate structure of the poor law for the benefit of those who do not at any time come within the purview of the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

The present poor law authorities—the county councils and county borough councils—are from many points of view better fitted to apply the means tests and to administer a system of maintenance allowances than any other existing type of authority. The county and county borough councils have, of course, taken over the staffs of the poor law guardians and thus have at their disposal the services of the relieving

³ The question of whether the right to relief should be modified where the applicant has become disqualified for insurance benefit on account of misconduct or voluntarily leaving work is one which might receive consideration.

officers, a body whose experience may be regarded as almost indispensable for a task of this character. Quite apart from this, it is obvious that a local authority is in a far better position to obtain accurate local information concerning the circumstances of persons seeking assistance than any agent or officer of the central government. It is difficult for a central department working in local areas not to function through strangers; and this is an enormous disadvantage in the difficult work of obtaining accurate information relating to poverty, in which the person concerned may sometimes believe that he has a direct interest in concealing or misrepresenting the facts. The local authority, again, has occasion to enter the homes of the inhabitants in its area—especially those of the poorer classes—for a number of different purposes. For instance, the sanitary inspector and the medical officer are required to inspect houses to see that they are in a condition fit for human habitation; the school attendance officers do frequent visiting of the homes; the health visitors and district nurses are continually calling in connection with sickness and maternity cases; the municipal trading departments (gas water and electricity) all have a right of entry which is frequently exercised; and there are many other instances of a similar kind. Under a system of properly co-ordinated records, all this knowledge of the domestic and social conditions existing in particular homes could be marshalled up for use by the local authority charged with applying the need test.

The weakness of the present position lies in the complete absence of any connection between the machinery for administering Unemployment Insurance and the machinery for administering poor law. I do not suggest for a moment that it would be either desirable or possible to employ the *same* organs of administration for both services. Indeed, there is every reason why two such different functions should be carried out by different administrative agents. But the absence of a connecting link is a source of weakness, which shows itself in many ways. For instance, so far as I am aware, it is in many places the practice for poor relief to be administered without any reference, beyond the applicant's own statement, to the vital question whether he or his immediate relatives are in receipt of unemployment benefit.

The separation of the two systems continues right up to the top, where there is, in fact, one central department administering Unemployment Insurance and another supervising the poor law. It is difficult to believe that this is a desirable state of affairs.

The responsibility of the Minister of Health for the Poor Law is, I suggest, due more to historical accident than to any considerations of logic or

convenience or efficiency. The Poor Law Board grew out of the Poor Law Commissioners; the Local Government Board developed out of the Poor Law Board; and finally the Ministry of Health evolved out of the Local Government Board. During this process the poor law was becoming a less and less important part of local government, while other municipal activities, such as public health, education, highways, the police and public utilities, were coming to occupy a place of increasing significance. The general local authorities were growing rapidly in strength and prestige, whereas the guardians were declining in status and public esteem. It is a remarkable fact that, although the existence of the central department responsible for local government can be traced back directly to the poor law reforms of a century ago, the poor law functions of the Ministry of Health appear to-day to be an excrescence with little organic relation to the general work of the Department. The Ministry of Health Act, 1919, bears this out to a marked degree.

If we were allocating supervisory functions to central departments for the first time, it is difficult to believe that we should reproduce the present situation. The Ministry of Health ought, no doubt, on the merits of the arrangement, to be concerned with certain forms of specialized institutional treatment for destitute persons, for, as I have already shown, there is a marked tendency to provide assistance for pauper invalids, lunatics, blind persons, expectant mothers, etc., on a basis of functional need in terms of social service, rather than as poor law relief. But when we come to outdoor relief or maintenance there appears to be very little to be said in favour of the Ministry of Health remaining the Central Authority. In my opinion, the Ministry of Labour is a far more suitable department for acting as the central authority for outdoor relief or maintenance under the Poor Law. The main reasons for this are twofold. First, the Ministry of Labour administers Unemployment Insurance, which may be regarded as the first line of defence against destitution for the vast majority of employed workers. Second, it administers the employment Exchanges, which aim at preventing or minimising destitution arising from lack of employment. The Ministry of Labour is also responsible for labour transference and for training schemes for the unemployed, both of which have a close connection with the relief of the able-bodied poor. Almost the whole part of able-bodied destitution arises from industrial causes. The Ministry of Labour is a department concerned essentially with industry, whereas the Ministry of Health is concerned essentially with the health and the home. All these considerations lead me to propose that the central supervision and control over the whole busi-

ness of poor law relief, comprising outdoor relief or maintenance, the workhouses and casual wards, should be transferred from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Labour.

The next question which may be considered is the nature and extent of the supervision exercised by the central department over the local administration of relief. If we examine the existing position, we find that here again historical causes have played a dominant part.

It is not too much to say that the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, is a turning point in the history of the relations between central and local government in this country. The abuses and corruption and extravagance of the old unreformed poor law, and the evil effects which they produced, led the Royal Commission of 1832, and later Parliament, to the view that the local guardians must be brought under the most severe control of the new Commissioners of Poor Law who were to be established in London. Hence, the Act of 1834 gave the three Commissioners—the “uncrowned Kings of Somerset House” as they came to be called—almost complete authority over the local bodies in nearly every aspect of administration, whether large or small. This central power has been strengthened during the past century. The keynote of the relations between central and local authorities is struck by the opening section of the consolidating Poor Law Act, 1930, which declares that the Minister of Health is “charged with the direction and control of all matters relating to the administration of relief to the poor.” All powers relating to the building, altering or enlarging of workhouses, the preparation of houses for the reception of poor persons, and the dieting, clothing, employment and government of such persons, are to be under the control and subject to the rules, regulations and orders of the Minister. The Minister has power also to direct destitution authorities to appoint officers, with such qualifications and pay as he thinks fit; and he may remove such officers. Moreover, the Minister may regulate the duties of such officers and give them orders direct. The exercise of these powers in elaborate detail is part of the ordinary routine of Poor Law Administration.

Such a degree of central control over a local activity is unique in this country. There is nothing like it in any other municipal service or function; it bears, indeed, a close resemblance to what is called in France the “tutelle administrative.” A board of guardians, it was said in the case of *Tozeland v. Guardians of West Ham Union* is only a “subordinate administrative body” carrying out the instructions of the local Government Board.

The replacement of the Poor Law Commissioners by the Ministry of

Health and the Guardians of the Poor by the county and county borough councils has done nothing to change the relations between central and local authorities in the matter; nor has the successive consolidation and codification of the poor law in any way relaxed the severity of the discipline imposed by the legislation of 1834. But the events of the past 100 years in the sphere of public administration have greatly diminished the need for such a rigorous discipline. A century ago the county councils did not exist at all, and the county borough councils did not exist in their modern form—they were usually inefficient or corrupt before the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835. To-day, the county and county borough councils are impressive and important bodies, considered as a class; they have vast responsibilities and large staffs; some of them are as populous and as wealthy as whole European states; their budgets amount in the aggregate to hundreds of millions; and in comparison with anything that we have previously known in this country, their administration is remarkably efficient.

In these circumstances the extent and forms of control by the Ministry of Health over the local poor law authorities have become obsolete, burdensome and unnecessary. The local councils should be given a free hand in what may be called the routine of administration, while remaining subject to broad lines of policy laid down by the central government.

I have already dealt in an earlier part of this memorandum with one of the most important questions of policy, namely the test of need, and have emphasized the desirability of the central government laying down, for observance throughout the country, a precise definition of the degree and kind of poverty to be considered eligible for maintenance allowance. The other most vital question of policy concerns the amount of relief to be granted. In my opinion it is absolutely necessary, in view of the magnitude of the issues involved, the need for social justice and the large sums of money at stake, that scales of relief should be laid down or approved by the central authority. Wherever possible, the scale should state the exact amounts payable; if this is not practical, maxima and minima should be laid down. It is difficult to think of any sphere of public administration where it is more desirable to obtain consistency of policy in essential matters and to avoid fluctuations in the service on account of local generosity or parsimony. It does not follow from this, however, that a single scale of relief should necessarily be applied throughout the country. This would produce uniformity, but not consistency. There are considerable differences in the cost of living in various parts of the country, notably as between London and the provinces, and between the large towns

and the rural areas. It would appear desirable in the interests of consistency to take these differences into account in fixing the scales of relief.

I do not propose to deal in this memorandum with the question of the amounts at which the scales of relief should be fixed. The matter requires statistical investigations into the cost of subsistence and other specialised enquiries which are not at present available. The proposition may, however, be laid down that relief must be sufficient to maintain those who receive it not merely in physical health but in a condition of mental fitness to resume their industrial function as soon as opportunity offers. This must be the dominant consideration.

I do not know whether unemployment insurance benefits were at any time fixed with this object in view; nor to what extent experience has shown them to be successful in attaining that end. But without exact quantitative knowledge in this aspect of the matter it is impossible to discuss in a satisfactory manner the question of the relation between the amount of unemployment insurance benefit and the amount of outdoor relief. Theoretically, it might be argued, the scale of relief should be lower than the scale of unemployment benefit, on the ground that it is undesirable that there should be no disadvantage in passing out of an insurance scheme towards which the worker has himself contributed and to the benefits of which he has a statutory right, to a system of public assistance by means of which the community merely supports destitute persons. It might be contended, moreover, that it is desirable that workers who cease to be qualified for insurance benefit should have some additional incentive to re-enter employment. But these considerations are of no importance compared with the dominant principle of preserving physical and mental fitness.

Differential advantages between persons in receipt of unemployment benefit and those being maintained by way of poor relief can, however, be established in directions other than the amount of the weekly payment. The most obvious matter in this connection relates to the terms and conditions of employment which must be accepted or may be refused by an unemployed worker.

Another matter which deserves consideration is the question whether out-door relief should be given wholly in cash, or partly in cash and partly in kind. If the principle be accepted that the predominant object of outdoor relief is to maintain the worker in a fit condition, physically and mentally, to resume employment at the earliest possible moment, it follows that the State is fundamentally concerned, not merely with the payment of a weekly sum of money to a destitute worker, but with the use to

which that money is put. I am informed by medical experts with considerable experience of public health work that there is reason for grave dissatisfaction with the quality and character of the consumption-goods which are purchased by large numbers of the unemployed; and that far better physiological results could be obtained by a wiser expenditure of the same weekly sums. If this be correct—and it is a matter calling for enquiry—there would appear to be indisputable advantage in a system of relief which provides certain indispensable necessities in kind in lieu of the equivalent in cash. It is already the practice of a number of poor law authorities to give out-door relief in kind in the form of orders for stated amounts on local tradesmen and co-operative societies. At present, however, there is usually no stipulation as to the kind of goods that must be purchased on the orders. It is my belief that modern scientific investigations on the problems of diet and nutrition have made such remarkable progress in recent years that model dietaries could be drawn up and enforced through a system of relief, given partly in kind, with immense advantage to the health of the nation. If objection be made that this is an infringement of the liberty of the individual, the answer can be made that, first, the community is less interested in the liberty of the individual unemployed worker than in the preservation or improvement of his health and that of his family; and that in any event it is irrelevant to press the claims of personal freedom at a moment where the individual would perish from starvation if left free to his own devices.

Finance.—The finance of the poor law is its weakest side at present, especially as regards out-door relief, and some change in the existing arrangements will have to be made if large numbers of able-bodied unemployed workers are to be maintained by means of it on ceasing to be qualified for insurance benefit.

The poor law is one of the oldest local government services. It arose long before the idea that the central government should give financial assistance to the local authorities had been thought of. This is the essential explanation of the fact that the relief of destitution is, and always has been, financed almost entirely out of local resources. If we look at the more modern municipal functions such as education, the police forces, maternity and child welfare, the newer public health services such as tuberculosis treatment, we find that the central government has used the device of the grant-in-aid as a means to promote local activity and to purchase the right to supervise or influence that activity in various ways. The poor law stands out conspicuously in that the central control over local administration is uniquely severe and exacting, extending down to

minute details, while at the same time it is not accompanied by any financial assistance. The last year for which figures are available is the 12 months ending 31st March, 1929, when the total local expenditure on poor law amounted to £33,376,293 for which a grant of only £1,167,732 was paid.

It is not surprising in these circumstances that the enormous increase in the burden of poor law expenditure which arose in the past decade raised an outcry from the local authorities in those areas where unemployment was high—the so-called “black spots of unemployment.” The guardians argued that unemployment was due to national causes, but was left to be paid for by local funds. They contended that not only were the funds inadequate but the incidence of the burden unjust. The very industries which were most hardly hit by trade depression became further depressed by a heavy increase of rates needed to meet the cost of supporting workers thrown out of work by the depression in those industries.

It was these considerations, amongst others, which induced Mr. Baldwin's government in 1929 to present to Parliament the derating scheme which is now embodied in the Local Government Act 1929. I will not trouble the commission with a description of this long and complex measure. So far as poor law is concerned it achieved three things. First, it transferred the poor law administration from the guardians to the county and county borough councils, and thereby enlarged the area of charge for the cost of relief. There were 631 boards of guardians in England and Wales compared with 145 county councils and county borough councils. Second, it de-rated industrial and freight-transport hereditaments to the extent of 75 per cent. of their assessable value, thus removing three quarters of the burden of poor law expenditure from the shoulders of certain classes of producers. Third, it introduced a new consolidated grant, called the General Exchequer Contribution, to compensate local authorities for their revenue losses in respect of derating and certain assigned revenues and grants which were discontinued. The new General Exchequer Contribution is fixed in the aggregate and revised from time to time. For the purpose of apportioning it among the several counties and county boroughs two sets of data are taken into consideration. One consists of the actual losses on account of rates and grants suffered by each county and county borough. The other consists of the weighted population of the area. The local population is weighted according to a complex formula. One item in the formula gives a “pull” in respect of the percentage by which the number of unemployed insured men (increased by ten per cent. of the number of unemployed insured women) calculated

in relation to the average population of the area, exceeds $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For the first period of three years after the scheme first came into operation—the present period—only 25 per cent. of the contribution is distributed on the basis of the formula.

It will be seen from this brief outline that the new system of municipal finance introduced by the Local Government Act, 1929, takes into account probable poor law expenditure on unemployed workers to only a trifling extent; to so small a degree, indeed, for the first period of 3 years that it can almost be disregarded for practical purposes. It follows that the burden of poor law expenditure continues to fall almost entirely on the local rate-payers. In view of the fact that compensation for derating is fixed for all future time on the losses incurred in the standard year (1929) any increase of expenditure from rates must fall entirely on the remaining body of ratepayers, consisting predominantly of householders and shopkeepers.

The new General Exchequer Contribution marks a large departure from the practice of the preceding decades in that it expressly avoids the principle of the percentage grants. The central Government's assistance to the local authorities in the case of education, the police, maternity and child welfare, the treatment of tuberculosis, venereal disease and highways was based on the national exchequer paying a fixed percentage of each local authority's approved expenditure on the service in question. The new system of municipal finance introduces what may be termed, by contrast, an automatic grant. If a person resident in Kent migrates to Yorkshire, a change in the moneys due to those two counties will automatically take place, irrespective of any changes in local expenditure or, it should be added, the nature and extent of the services provided by the local authorities in question, save in extreme cases of defective service where the Minister of Health has power to withhold the contribution in whole or in part.

If the Commission were to recommend that persons no longer qualified for unemployment benefit be maintained by outdoor relief it would, without any doubt whatever, be necessary to reinforce the revenues of local authorities with a special grant for the purpose. Such a grant could not be grafted on to the complex scheme embodied in the Local Government Act, 1929, which in any case it would be unwise to disturb at this juncture.

There are certain objections to the system of local rating as a method of taxation which are inherent in the nature of the rate and which hold good no matter what use is made of the moneys derived from the rates. It would no doubt be taking the Commission too far afield if I dealt with

these general objections in this memorandum. The rating system exists; it is the basis of local revenue, and as such it must be accepted for the present. It may be added, however, that it is possible to operate the rating system in a less regressive manner than at present without disturbing its essential features. The incidence of rates is at present regressive because the rate is levied at a uniform poundage on all assessable properties regardless of their value. Thus, a man inhabiting a house at £300 per annum pays the same rate in the pound as one inhabiting a house at £30 per annum in the same neighbourhood. This is in direct contradiction to the principles applied in the income tax and death duties, in which the rate of taxation becomes heavier the larger the sum to be taxed. It is generally accepted fact that among the poorer classes the proportion of the total income spent on rent is higher than among the more wealthy sections of the community, and this makes the incidence of local rates more steeply regressive than it would otherwise be. I suggest to the Commission that it is worth considering whether a super-rate should not be levied for the purpose of meeting in part the cost of poor law relief, no matter what other arrangements may be made. Such a super-rate could be levied on all house property where the assessable value of the premises is in excess of a specified amount *per capita* of the occupiers (excluding domestic servants). A sliding scale could be employed in this connection so as to graduate the amount of the rate.

On the general question of the distribution of the cost of maintenance between the central government and the local authorities, all experience goes to show that it is impossible to secure any real degree of responsibility in administration without an appreciable amount of financial liability. I therefore regard it as essential that some part of the cost must fall on the rates and some part be met by a grant-in-aid.

The grant-in-aid should, I suggest, be a percentage grant, based on the local authority's own approved expenditure. I submit, however, that no system of percentage grants is likely to give adequate assistance to those local authorities where the burden of unemployment is greatest, and to save the national exchequer from unnecessary expenditure in the case of those areas whose need is comparatively slight, unless the principle of a differential grant-in-aid is introduced. To take a concrete example, the distressed areas on the Tyneside and in South Wales require a grant which is not merely larger in the aggregate than Surrey, but larger in proportion to the local authority's own expenditure.

The method I would advocate to attain these objects is to make the percentage of approved local expenditure paid by the Exchequer vary

with the proportion which the number of able-bodied unemployed persons receiving relief bears to the total local population. Where the ratio is less than a certain minimum figure, the whole expenditure might be left to the local authority. Where it is, say, 5 per cent., the central government might pay 20 per cent., where it is 6 per cent. the grant-in-aid might be 25 per cent., and so on, rising to a maximum of 60 or 70 per cent. I do not wish to be in the least dogmatic on the question of the exact adjustment of the grant to local expenditure; the above illustrations are quite tentative. But I submit that only by some such principle can the situation be dealt with equitably, or, indeed, at all on a poor law basis. It is obvious that care must be taken to ensure that while, under the plan suggested above, the central grant increases in proportion to local need, the local burden also increases with each increase of expenditure on outdoor relief. A situation must never arise in which it "pays" a local authority to let its outdoor relief figures rise. There must always be an incentive to keep them down, so far as this is consistent with the proper administration of relief. It is of course a simple matter to arrange the grant-in-aid to prevent this danger.

It would easily be possible to devise a formula for the determination of the central exchequer grant on the grounds of local ability to pay; and such elements as the local rate in the £, local assessable value per head, the amount of rates collected per head and local expenditure per head could be taken into consideration. But I think on the whole it is better to keep the central grant on simple lines. It will be found that for the most part the trend of all these elements go in the same direction as, and are powerfully influenced by unemployment, trade depression and poor law expenditure.

Treatment.—On the general question of the best manner of treating unemployed persons ceasing to be qualified for insurance benefit, it is generally agreed that there is scarcely anything more demoralising and depressing in its effect than the payment of weekly sums of money to men normally accustomed to work, without requiring from them any sort of activity, obligation or effort in return. The dominant object to be kept in view in regard to the able-bodied unemployed must be to maintain them in a fit condition, physically and mentally, to resume employment at the earliest possible moment. This inevitably involves the exaction of some form of regular occupation during those parts of the day not taken up with search for work.

As regards *men who have good prospects of being able to return to their own industry*, the question of training, in the ordinary sense of the word, does

not arise. For these men the problem is to preserve their habits of work, maintain health and efficiency, and to prevent them from sinking into a state of mental apathy and sloth. The most desirable methods to adopt in the case of this class appear to be as follows:—

Educational activity.

This must, of course, be suited to the capacity of the man. Simple courses in such subjects as history etc. have much to recommend them.

Work on allotments.

Most interesting experiments have been made in this connection in some of the mining areas, and they have proved highly successful. They can only be carried out in certain types of area.

Test work or municipal work.

Some form of actual work is desirable in nearly all cases. Where municipal work is available it is obviously preferable to mere tests. In some cases arrangements have been made for the public assistance Committee to contribute to the cost of employing selected men in municipal work, and they are then paid wages.

Craft training.

A word may be said concerning one other type of treatment or training. A considerable number of men might, with advantage, be encouraged to take up subsidiary handicrafts, such as wood carving, toymaking, basket-work, bookbinding, picture-framing, and so forth. These crafts possess a value in themselves as working disciplines and as forms of self-expression; they also have an economic value in enabling men to tide over hard times and to add to their wages by means of spare time occupations. They are suitable for all types of unemployed workers who are at all used to the exercise of manual skill.

The extent to which all or any of these methods can be adopted in any particular area is limited by various factors. It is not necessary to be dogmatic on the subject, but some or all of them should be applied in all cases.

In regard to the class of *men who have good prospects of finding employment in some industry other than the one to which they are accustomed*, the problem varies according to whether training is or is not needed. Probably in most cases training will be needed, and here the local authority should be able to compel the man to undergo the necessary course of instruction. Where no training is required men of this class can be treated in the same way as those who have good prospects of re-entering their own occupation, to whom reference has been made above.

The third class of man *consists of those who, on account of their age or physical condition, are unlikely to obtain employment again*. Here the problem is different in kind. Such men are, in certain circumstances, capable of

earning a certain amount of money by trading or hawking on their own account, doing odd jobs and so forth. But they are unlikely to be able to earn sufficient to be able to keep themselves regularly. Unless, therefore, there are relatives able and willing to bear part of the burden of maintaining them, the local authority is faced with the prospect of assisting them from poor law funds more or less permanently, or until a pension intervenes. In my opinion, continuous out-door relief payments over long periods to persons of this type are wasteful and invidious. It is impracticable to require test work or impose conditions on such men; nor can any real check be kept on their earnings. In consequence, they appear to occupy a favoured position; and it is difficult for the much better type of man—industrially speaking—in the other two class mentioned above to understand why he should, in comparison, be subjected to a more arduous régime and a more severe discipline. It would seem a better course to refuse as many of these men as possible out-door relief and to offer them maintenance in special types of institutions.

Some form of training or treatment should, in my opinion, be provided for every able-bodied unemployed worker on out-door relief. And the right to maintenance by the community should be conditional on the acceptance of whatever test or relief work, courses of instruction, physical or mental exercises, may be required. There is nothing inhumane in refusing to allow the unemployed to deteriorate in idleness. . . .

November 4, 1931

APPENDIX: THE STATUS OF A PAUPER

A person who has within 12 months before his election, or since his election, received relief, is disqualified for being a member or chairman of a Parish Council or Rural District Council or Urban District Council. Local Government Act, 1894, S. 46.

A person is disqualified for receiving an old age pension, notwithstanding the fulfilment of the statutory conditions, while he is an inmate of a workhouse or other poor law institution. Old Age Pensions Act, 1919, S. 3.

A similar disqualification applies in the case of contributory old age pensions, widows' pensions and additional allowances for children, under the Widows, Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, 1925 and 1929.

An insured contributor is disqualified for receiving Unemployment benefit while he is an inmate of a workhouse or other institution supported wholly or partly out of public funds. Unemployment Insurance Act, 1920, S. 8 (3).

A similar provision deprives a person insured under the National Health Insurance Scheme from receiving sickness or disablement benefit while he is an inmate of any workhouse, etc. Although an insured contributor may ultimately

receive a cash balance on leaving the institution there is a definite curtailment of right so long as he is an inmate of a poor law institution.

There are a number of common law rights possessed by the general body of citizens which are withdrawn from paupers. As the law now stands, the ordinary duty of a master to act with reasonable care towards his servants, the liability of a doctor for negligence to his patient, of a school master to the students in his charge, the duty of taking reasonable care which the law imposes in innumerable situations where one person occupies a special relation of responsibility towards another or others, does not apply as between poor law authority and pauper.

Three leading cases may be cited to illustrate this principle. In *Brennan v. Guardians of the Poor of the Limerick Union* (1878) 2 L.R. Ir. p. 42, the negligence of the Guardians led to the Plaintiff's son, who was suffering from fever, leaving his bed and falling into a yard where he was killed. The Court held no action would lie for negligence on grounds of public policy. In *Dunbar v. Guardians of the Poor of Ardee Union* (1897) 2 Ir., R. p. 76, the death of another pauper patient was caused by the gross and culpable neglect of the workhouse master to provide proper attendants. Held, no action would lie. In *Tozeland v. Guardians of the West Ham Union* (1907) 1 K.B., p. 920, a pauper was directed to work at the enlargement of the electric light installation at the infirmary. A scaffold gave way owing to its negligent erection by a poor law official, and the pauper was injured. The Court of Appeal in England, after expressly approving the Irish cases aforesaid, held that the guardians, in putting the pauper to work, were not liable for the negligence of their official. The pauper works under statutory compulsion and not under any contractual relation, and the ordinary considerations related to Master and Servant do not apply. Moreover, no action will lie on grounds of public policy.

The rights of parents in regard to pauper children are liable to permanent usurpation. Where a child is maintained by the Poor Law Authority, and *inter alia* (a) has been deserted by his parent, or (b) the Poor Law Authority are of opinion that by reason of mental deficiency or of vicious habits or mode of life, a parent is unfit to have the control of the child, then in either of these or in various other specified cases, the Poor Law Authority may resolve that until the child reaches the age of 18 years, all the rights and powers of the parent shall vest in them. Poor Law Act, 1927, S. 78.

Pauper inmates who commit various offences defined by the Poor Law Orders are deemed to be disorderly or refractory, as the case may be, and are subject to various punishments prescribed by the Minister of Health.

A special code is laid down for the regulation and disciplining of the casual poor. It includes provisions restricting the right of a pauper to discharge himself from the casual ward before a certain time has elapsed since his entry or before he has performed test work. The period of involuntary detention is extended where a pauper has been admitted more than once in a month to the same casual ward. Poor Law Act, 1927, S. 71.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A SETTLEMENT SEMI-CENTENNIAL

ONE of the early landmarks in the development of modern social work was the founding of Toynbee Hall in East London fifty years ago. The arrangements for this first settlement were actually completed the preceding year, which was marked by the publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* and which was also the year of the famous manifesto of the Social Democratic Federation and the founding of that characteristically English socialist organization—the Fabian Society. The social unrest of the eighties of the last century had many far-reaching consequences. This was the decade when the great inquiries of the late Charles Booth pictured with convincing evidence the destitute population of the world's metropolis.

The first of many great and useful social settlements was founded in Whitechapel, on Commercial Road, adjoining the Church of St. Jude, of which the first warden Samuel A. Barnett was the vicar, and named in memory of Arnold Toynbee, who had been interested in the people of the East End and had often stayed at St. Jude's vicarage with Mr. and Mrs. Barnett. Mrs. Barnett tells us in the *Life of Canon Barnett* that Arnold Toynbee had once taken rooms over the C.O.S. office not far away from the place where Toynbee Hall was finally built. A distinguished English churchman has described the meeting in Oxford in 1883 when Canon Barnett set out his plan for an Oxford "settlement" in Whitechapel.

Our conscience felt the rebuke of the contrast between the wealth of inheritance and opportunity stored up in Oxford and the poverty of the life lived amid the mean streets and monotonous labour of East London. In a vague way we felt the claim of that poverty on our wealth. Could anything practical be done to meet it? The answer to that question was important. If it had not come, the movement might have drifted into mere vague sentiment or academic talk. It came that November evening. The Vicar of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, Mr. Barnett, then in the prime of his life, in his fortieth year, read a paper in which he sketched the plan of a "University Settlement in East London." "Something," he said, "must be done to share with the poor the best gifts." Let University men become the neighbours of the working poor, sharing their life, thinking out their problems, learning from them the lessons of patience, fellowship, self-sacrifice, and offering in response the help of their own education and friend-

ship. "This," he said, "will alleviate the sorrow and misery born of class division and indifference. It will bring classes into relation; it will lead them to know and learn of one another, and those to whom it is given will give." I well remember . . . the earnest appeal of an Oxford man busy in the service of the people to other Oxford men to "come and see," to learn the needs by sharing the life of that, to us, strange and dim outer world of East London.¹

In the following March, 1884, the corner stone of Toynbee Hall was laid, and before Christmas of that year Oxford men were working from the new settlement in the East End.

Canon Barnett wanted Toynbee Hall to offer to the working men of London "not the means of a livelihood but the means of life,"—"the opportunity of making a worthy use of leisure, and of laying in mental culture and knowledge, the only real basis of equality."

It is not necessary in this *Review* to try to describe the work and the world-wide influence of Toynbee Hall under the leadership of the Barnetts and their successors. Theirs has been "the spirit of learning not teaching, the spirit of comradeship not patronage," and American social workers will send greetings to Dame Henrietta Barnett in honor of Toynbee's semi-centennial.

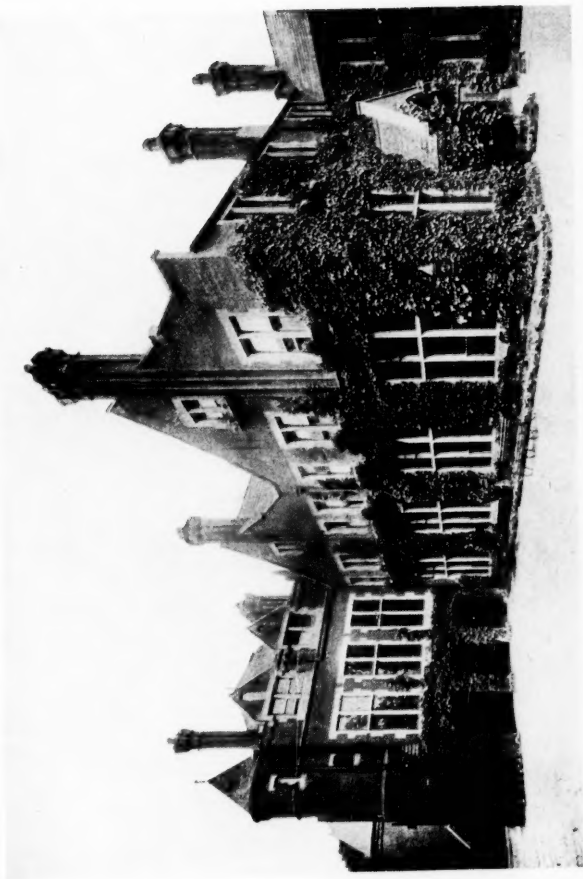
MISS PERKINS SUPPORTS ABOLITION

SECRETARY OF LABOR Frances Perkins made a timely declaration the last of January supporting the movement for the abolition of the old poor laws. "Obsolete pauper laws in some states should be repealed, so as to prevent the disenfranchisement of paupers," Miss Perkins is reported to have said. "There is a possibility," she added, "that they might be interpreted in certain cases as disenfranchising men and women engaged on work relief projects or who have received the aid of private charities."

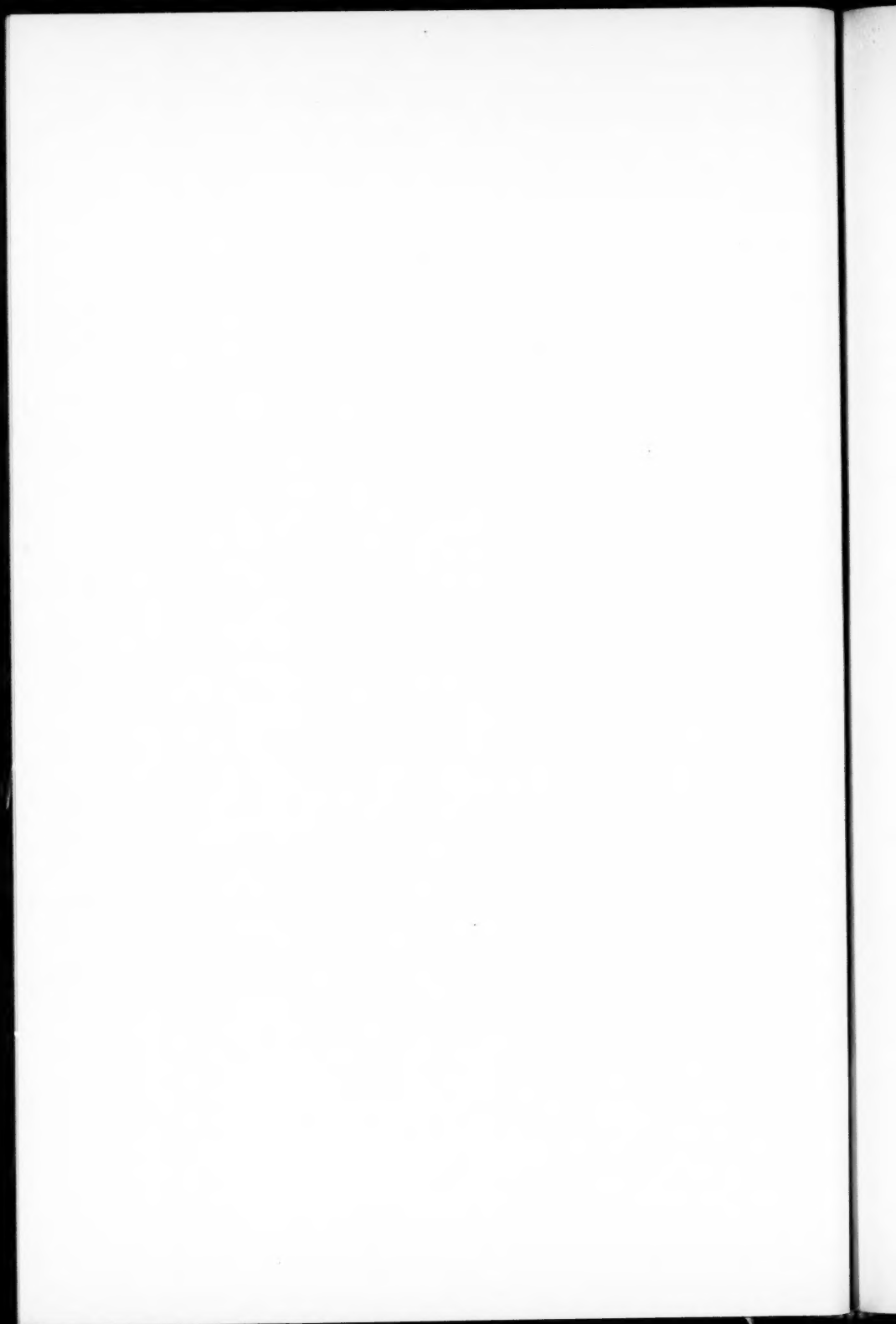
"Among the injustices on which the depression has returned new light are the pauper laws in some of the states," Miss Perkins declared. "These are inheritances from the Elizabethan Poor Law which reflect a point of view on the causes of poverty long since proven unsound. Then it was believed that men were individually responsible when they were unable to find work and that society should punish them. If there were any left in 1929 who held to this old doctrine they have now abandoned it.

"Some few workmen may be unemployable but punishment is rarely the road to reform even for these. As for the others who may be destitute

¹ The Archbishop of York quoted in *Canon Barnett: His Life, Work, and Friends*. By his wife (London, 1919), I, 310.



TOUNBEE HALL



because of social or industrial conditions over which as individuals they have no control, I find that there are legal penalties which are so unjust that their removal from our state constitutions and statute books should be a first concern.

"The very word pauper, which is associated with past injustices in the minds of those who have had to accept assistance, should be removed from our laws. But I am not thinking of words alone. There are, I find, fourteen states which deprive the person who has the legal status of a pauper of the right to vote or hold office. In each of these states this deprivation of the right of suffrage is in the constitution.

"In contrast to the above I am glad to note that there are eleven states which have constitutional provisions to the effect that no person shall be deemed to have lost residence for voting purposes by reason of his absence while kept in any almshouse or other asylum at public expenses."

Social workers will appreciate the timely statement of the Secretary of Labor and the influence of her support of this movement to abolish the old pauper laws.

THE PAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CHILD WELFARE

IN 1927 an Inter-American Institute for the Protection of Children was established in Montevideo. This was the result of discussions held between 1919 and 1927 on the need in the South American states for some assistance from a central agency, which might do for the independent states of South America something of the same services that are rendered to the different commonwealths in the United States by the U.S. Children's Bureau. The head of the Institute has been from the beginning Dr. Luis Morquio, probably the most distinguished pediatrician in South America, and he has had as his assistant Dr. Emilio Fournié, who is likewise a very well-known and able educationist. The Institute was to be supported by contributions of \$2,000 each from the twenty-one American states. As a matter of fact, however, only Uruguay and the United States have found it possible continuously to make these contributions, and the work of the Institute has, therefore, been seriously crippled.

The possible scope of the Institute's work is as wide as that of the U.S. Children's Bureau, and with resources it could carry on research, offer consultation services, and make available to the different states valuable information assembled either as a matter of correspondence or as special research in the different American states and in other countries as well. What it has been able to do, however, is substantially only to act as a place of deposit, receiving about three hundred articles or contributions to the

literature on child welfare a month, selecting from this material, and through its *Boletín* publishing a very modest proportion of the available and most useful data.

"Social Problems" has been an item on the agenda of the last two Pan-American conferences, and at the conference recently held at Montevideo, there were listed under this category a proposed establishment of a Pan-American Labor Bureau, a proposed development of facilities for dealing with the problems of social hygiene—which in Latin America, as in some of the European countries, implies all contagious and infectious diseases and not simply those connected with irregular sex relationships—and the question of the future development of the Institute.

Besides the conferences of official delegates from the different states, held about once in five years and called "Inter-American Conferences of American States," there have been held congresses devoted to special topics, and the Sixth Pan-American Child Congress was held in Lima in 1930. That congress was attended by leading pediatricians, social workers, and persons interested in the establishment of the juvenile court. Among the recommendations of that congress was the enlargement of the scope of the work of the Institute at Montevideo. This has not been rendered possible by an increase in the contributions to the Institute and so the question at the recent general conference was whether or not special efforts should be made to amplify its resources and enlarge its work. The committee selected to discuss this subject was composed again of leading pediatricians with two delegates from the United States who were, in general, familiar with the field of social work, one of whom had been at the Child Congress of 1930. A re-examination of the conditions surrounding child life and of the development of agencies in the field of child welfare in the South American countries again convinced the members of the committee that there was great need of just such an agency as the Institute, and, on the recommendation of the committee, the conference voted to urge the American States to renew and increase their contributions so that the work of the Institute might be enlarged. The conference also voted to urge upon the Pan-American Union the calling, at an early date, of another child congress.

Unless times improve it may not be possible for the governments to renew or to increase their contributions and an application is going to be made, on the basis of such efforts as the states do put forth, to certain American Foundations in the hope that the funds secured from government grants may be supplemented by grants from the private foundations which have done very important work in the field of health in South

America and may be willing to supplement those activities by similar contributions in the field of child welfare.

With reference to the recent conference, the social workers of the United States will find themselves enormously gratified at the general results, to be made known when the proceedings of the conference are available, in the direction of a greatly improved spiritual relationship between and among American governments. No more eloquent words in behalf of peace can be imagined than those constantly uttered by Secretary Hull, and his efforts are registered in a better understanding, in wider acceptance of the treaties which have been drafted during the past decade, and in a clearer appreciation that there is a true American public opinion of which the different countries will wish to take notice. This conference provides even a ray of hope in viewing the hideous situation that has been existing between Bolivia and Paraguay. Those countries, after agreeing to an armistice, have found themselves unable or unwilling to prolong that armistice, but it is the belief of those who were in Montevideo in December that even if the peace results from victory, it will be a peace of reason, and not simply a peace of victory.

THE PHILADELPHIA COUNTY RELIEF BUREAU

THE exigencies of the times are not conducive to self-analysis. Yet almost every city realizes that its hastily constructed relief machinery creaks. Most communities also realize that this same creaking machinery is helping to effect profound changes in the pattern of community organization. Under such circumstances even a brief pause to look at the interlocking parts of the mechanism seems worth while.

Philadelphia is one of the first cities to attempt such an analysis. The study¹ made by Gordon Hamilton and Walter W. Pettit of New York makes no pretense of thoroughness. The report contains no weighty body of factual material, heavily documented and buttressed with statistics. It is frankly impressionistic—but the impressions are those of social workers who came to their task with unbiased minds and with wide experience in the field of community relationships. In view of the kaleidoscopic character of the present situation, their approach was probably the one best suited to the task.

The recommendations—twenty-five in number—are not revolutionary. They seek rather to bring the present practices of the Philadelphia County Relief Board into line with those principles now rather widely accepted by

¹ *Report of a Study of the Philadelphia County Relief Bureau.* By A. Gordon Hamilton and Walter W. Pettit. Mimeographed. December 1, 1933. Pp. 49.

social workers. Among these, for example, are the substitution of cash relief for grocery orders, reduction in case loads per worker, decentralization of the application bureau, and so forth.

The suggestion that the board should give more attention to publicity is one that might well be heeded in other communities. Social workers in private agencies are obliged to keep their constituents informed in the interest of insuring continued support. In public agencies the need, though no less acute, is less widely recognized. The authors point to the apathy and lack of co-operation of public officials in Philadelphia with respect to the relief program. Quite rightly they conclude that unless this attitude is modified and unless official co-operation is re-enforced by widespread public sympathy and understanding, the permanence of a sound public program will be in doubt.

Perhaps the only recommendation at variance with generally accepted principles relates to education: "... it is recommended that at an early date a supervisor of training be employed within the organization and in connection with the Pennsylvania School of Social Work." The point at issue here related to the phrase "within the organization." If that one phrase were deleted, the recommendation could be accepted without question. Present educational efforts in Philadelphia in behalf of untrained emergency personnel are fourfold: "individual conferences weekly between visitor and assistant supervisor; staff conferences held weekly in each district by the supervisor; transfer of certain selected visitors to private agencies for a period of supervision; training courses at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work." Actually only the last of these four methods can be classified as education. The first two are routine aspects of the job of personnel administration and the third is a reversion to apprenticeship substitutes long since discredited by educators in all fields of professional endeavor.

It is to be hoped that this plan for the appointment of an educational director within the county relief board will be disregarded. Years of effort were required to extirpate training courses from private agencies. It should not be necessary to repeat this struggle now with the public agencies which, almost without exception, would be less well qualified for such a task than the private agencies formerly were.

A. W. McM.

A LETTER FROM A SHELTER

TO REGARD a man as a bum because he looks like one is a reflection upon the observer rather than upon the one observed. The judge, however, does not suffer for his bad judgment. The pain is borne by the one judged.

A professor of economics recently accepted the invitation of a friend to go and see one of the "emergency" shelters serving thousands of Chicago's unemployed single men. After viewing the "line" as the men received, cafeteria style, the evening meal he remarked that, if this were a fair sample of the group served in all the shelters, the world would be better off if eighty-five per cent were loaded onto a raft, towed out into Lake Michigan, and scuttled.

A commissioner of Cook County, delegated by that body to investigate and report on relief services to single men prefaced his report with the following statement:

During my visit, I was astonished that I was not able to pick out of the line, men who gave any indication that they were the self-respecting type of good citizen; men who would some day again be leading the life of good citizens. Most of the men were the dregs of humanity. No one can tell me that in four years time they . . . have sunk to the depths of degradation that inspection of these men showed. Most of them were dirty and shabby—the regular railroad-yard type of bum. Many had liquor on their breath. My impression was that they were just plain bums and hoboes living off the tax-payers.

An executive in a private family relief agency spent twenty minutes observing the shelter and the men receiving care. He noticed the beaten look on the faces of the men and their extremely shabby appearance. He remarked about the impersonal routine. He concluded that most of the men were casuals who were accustomed normally to a living standard about on the same level as that on which they were then existing. They composed the well-sifted end-product, who long ago ceased to desire independence. Probably they would not live differently if offered the opportunity.

During the period when the foregoing observations were made the following letter¹ was handed to one of the relief officials by a group of six men who were not distinguishable in appearance, to the casual observer, from the main group that made up the never-ending meal line. The letter appears below in the exact form in which it was received:

SIR:

Previous to entering the shelters we considered ourselves to be average contented persons of everyday life. Having exhausted our resources, and being forced to seek relief, I am sure we felt a large measure of gratitude when we entered the shelters, particularly since we knew it to be only a temporary matter.

¹ The *Review* is indebted for the copy of this letter to Robert W. Beasley, Instructor in the School of Social Service Administration, formerly Director of the Chicago Clearing House for Homeless Men.

After several months of close confinement with the various strata of life we became aware of a change in our mental attitude. To explain this change requires frankness.

I have slept with fifty, sixty, and once with sixty-nine other men in the typical class-room of a school, (used as a shelter) enduring their combined coughing and snoring and individual shortcomings. I have slept for weeks next to a man who covered a newspaper—and the floor—with his expectorations; and on rising can you imagine the revolting sensation when a person steps in this?

All of us have had similar disagreeable experiences. Excessive heat, the foul odor of sweating feet and bodies permeating the room during the night, poor ventilation due to men who may wish the windows closed, all contribute to sleep which is a stupor, not rest.

Twelve to fifteen hundred men use the same toilets which we must use.

We are a part of a milling mass of men at all times, subject to the multitude of dangers from their individual personal habits.

We regard the food as often insufficient. Worse still, the atmosphere in which we eat.

The tedious shuffling along in line at various times of the day is depressing. I am sure that should we have three meals a day we would literally have to spend the day in or near the shelter due to waiting in line for meals, to wash clothes, get clothes, get shoes fixed, etc.

The constant petty bickering which pervades the shelters irritates us all.

Seeing that most of the men also felt the effects of these conditions, some of us determined that through organization and collective action we could better our surroundings. Working in company with others who believed as we did we sought constantly to accomplish something. Some conditions were bettered, and a large percentage of the men (especially young men) were brought to realize that their only hope lay through these channels.

However, we now know that as long as these shelters exist most of the troubles above mentioned cannot be changed, for they are of a personal nature, and nothing the management can do will cut deep into the real problem, which is the effect that the atmosphere of the shelter has on a man.

Realizing that these conditions will exist for years to come, we are going to leave the shelters no matter what befalls us, because we must get back to some sort of normal life soon, before we have lost all initiative.

The mental strain has become greater. One no longer has the mental contentment required for a rational outlook. It is almost impossible to see the situation without distortion or prejudice.

This state of mind brings with it a physical decline, nervousness, inability to concentrate on subjects that were once full of interest.

We cannot understand what crime we have committed that this should be

done to us. Certainly a man permanently in our place can claim no country as his own, no society to which he belongs, no flag to inspire him.

So now it is sink or swim, that much is certain. Months of racking our minds for a way out have brought the following conclusions: that the small sums of money which we get through odd jobs, such as selling papers, a day's work through a friend, a day on the bills, etc. will support us better than the shelters, that being out of the shelters we will have all of our time to devote to such searching for work; that once on the job of making a living there is a possibility that we will eventually connect with something permanent.

A careful check has convinced us it can be done by six men if they do it collectively. We are friends of similar dispositions. There is no doubt in our minds about the smooth-running part of it, for we selected each other not only because we have been closely associated for months but we paid close attention to the qualifications of each man, making sure that each man had some way of obtaining his part of the money; not including any man for friendship alone.

One of us is an electrician, one a plasterer, one a machinist, etc. Each has been used to finding jobs, through friends and otherwise, and each will do his share to the best of his ability.

We are faced at the outset with paying rent for the first month. This is the main obstacle. When making plans a week ago our intention was simply to wait till we had accumulated enough money for this. But an opportunity to take a cheap apartment already partly furnished has presented itself. We must take it by Thursday October 13th, as it becomes vacant. Partly because of the advantage of the furniture and more especially because of our eagerness to put this plan in effect, we appeal to you.

We appeal to you to help us, and assure you of our determination to make a success of this plan.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed by the six men)

ILLINOIS RELIEF STATISTICS

THE month of January marked the inauguration of two new statistical publications in Illinois of special interest to social workers. The first of these emanates from the Statistical Department of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. Its twelve-page bulletin for January, 1934, is the first of a series that will be published monthly.

The bulletin will be limited to statistics relating to "public unemployment relief," which is defined to exclude institutional relief, blind pensions, mothers' pensions, hospital care, and pauper burials. The first issue contains eleven statistical tables and three graphs with accompanying textual comment.

Through the statistical bureau of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, information relative to Cook County's relief operations has been published each month for several years. Thanks to the Commission's new bulletin comparable bodies of facts concerning downstate counties are now available. Among the many interesting figures in the first bulletin the following may be cited as typical: In 51 Illinois counties the average relief per family in December, 1933, was less than \$10.00. The new bulletin will be widely read throughout Illinois.

The other new publication entering the field is issued by the Statistical Bureau of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago. Its aim is to circulate promptly the data that are collected monthly from the scores of social and health agencies in Chicago in conformity with the standard system required for participation in the Registration of Social Statistics project conducted by the U.S. Children's Bureau. The first number contains tables relating to family welfare and relief, to children in foster homes, and to care given by in-patient and out-patient services of local hospitals and dispensaries. The plan is to give the figures in some fields every month and in others to present only quarterly summaries. The bulletin represents another step forward in the Council's efforts to provide a basis for more intelligent analysis of the community's needs and resources.

A. W. McW.

THE REGISTRATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA¹

THREE HUNDRED AND SEVEN social workers in the state of California may now place the letters R.S.W. (Registered Social Worker) after their names, for the California Conference of Social Work, anticipating a generally recognized need, has established a system of registration of social workers in order to define more clearly the field of social work, improve the service, and give professional standing to the social worker.

In spite of the fact that members of the California Conference of Social Work have favored some form of registration, it is only after years of concentrated effort on the part of committees that an acceptable plan has been evolved.

As early as 1920 there was discussion of this subject, but it was not

¹ The editors are indebted to Mr. Runo E. Arne, of Berkeley, California, for this statement.

until 1928 that any formal action was taken by the Conference. In that year a resolution was adopted, instructing the Board of Directors of the Conference to appoint a committee to co-operate with the League of Women Voters in the preparation of a bill, providing for the certification of social workers. This bill was passed by the Assembly but defeated in the Senate of the State Legislature of 1929. The defeat was attributed to the opposition of a group of social workers who contended that they were not consulted but who were apparently afraid that the requirements of certification would endanger their positions. The introduction of a similar bill is being postponed until there is better understanding on the part of the social workers and the state of California.

In the meantime, it seemed an intermediate measure for the Conference itself to register social workers, since it represented a very large number of people whose vocation or avocation was social work. This measure would disseminate the idea of registration and prepare the way for legislative enactment. To that end, the Conference of 1930 voted to file articles of incorporation and to appoint a committee to study the problem of registration, collect necessary data, and submit conclusions to the next Conference. Each year thereafter a committee presented its findings and proposals, until finally in 1932 a committee of five recognized social workers was appointed by the Board of Directors to initiate the program for registration of social workers within the Conference. This committee issued an invitation to all members of the Conference who were professionally engaged in social work at a salary, to enrol in the Department of Registration and Certification of Social Workers within the California Conference of Social Work. This department was to be charged with the responsibility of putting into effect the plan for the registration and certification of social workers, and the members were to be privileged at the next annual meeting to vote upon the nominees for the permanent Board of Examiners.

In addition to obtaining the enrolment of conference members in this department of registration and certification, the committee (appointed in August, 1932) prepared by-laws which would govern the activities of the department and a list of nominees for the Board of Examiners to be elected at the first meeting of the members of the department.

The initial meeting of the Department of Registration and Certification of the California Conference of Social Work was held during the annual meeting of the Conference in 1933 at Sacramento. Sixty-two members out of a total enrolment of one hundred and sixty attended the meeting. They considered, section by section, the by-laws which had been for-

mulated by the committee and adopted them with slight revisions. They voted unanimously to accept the list of five nominees prepared by the committee, to serve as the first Board of Examiners of the Department of Registration and Certification of Social Workers.

Thus has the machinery of registration for social workers been set up within the Conference, but it is such a machinery as can easily be transferred to the state, probably to the State Department of Vocational and Professional Standards. In that event, the Board of Examiners appointed by the Conference may serve also as the State Board, and this, of course, is the ultimate goal of the registration project.

A recent "Conference Bulletin" of the California State Conference of Social Work contains a report of the Committee on Registration and Certification of Social Workers, from which the following extract is taken:

Three special duties were placed upon your committee [on registration and certification of social workers]. First, to arrange for the enrolment of Conference members who are engaged in professional social work at a salary and who wish to participate as members of the Department of Registration and Certification. Second, to prepare by-laws which would govern the activities of the Department of Registration and Certification. Third, to submit a list of nominees for the board of examiners to be elected at the first meeting of the members of the Department of Registration and Certification.

The by-laws adopted by the Department of Registration and Certification included the following provision regarding the appointment, qualifications, and term of office of the Board of Examiners:

The members of the Board of Examiners shall have the following qualifications:

All members of the Board of Examiners shall be persons of recognized standing in the field of social work in California and three of the members shall have the following qualifications:

- a) Be at least 27 years of age
- b) Have had a degree from an approved college or university
- c) Have had one year's work in an approved school of social work
- d) Have had four years of practical experience in social work in the state of California

Term of office: Five years, with one term expiring each year. Of the original group, one will serve 1 year, one 2 years, one 3, one 4, and one 5 years. Vacancies as they occur shall be filled by the president of the Conference.

Each year the Board of Examiners shall appoint one of their members as chairman.

The Board of Examiners elected by the members of the Department of Registration and Certification shall be administratively responsible to the Executive

Committee of the Department of Registration and Certification. The Board of Examiners shall have complete and final responsibility for the setting up of standards for the registration of social workers, for the preparation of examinations, for the giving of examinations, and for certifying applicants who wish to register.

The by-laws also provide that the executive secretary of the California Conference of Social Work shall serve as the secretary of the Department of Registration and Certification.

A further by-law deals with membership in the Department of Registration and Certification as follows: "Members of the California Conference of Social Work who have been professionally engaged in social work in California for three years within the past five years, at a salary, may be members of the Department of Registration and Certification."

An initial registration fee of \$2.00 with an annual charge of \$1.00 for renewal is provided for.

The important subject of requirements for registration during the first year was dealt with as follows:

To May 31, 1934, any case worker or executive or sub-executive employed on a salary by a social agency of recognized standing, who has lived in California for a period of three years, graduated from a high school or who has the equivalent education thereof, and who has had at least two years of experience on salary in such a recognized social agency in California, shall be certified by the board of examiners as a registered social worker.

It was then voted that those who are at present members of the American Association of Social Workers be considered by the board of examiners as registered social workers.

The five nominees for the Board of Examiners were Martha A. Chickering, University of California, Berkeley; Mary Stanton, Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles; Hyman Kaplan, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Charities, San Francisco; Helen A. Montegriffo, Field Agent, Emergency Relief Administration, Sacramento; Aleta Brownlee, Executive Secretary, County Welfare Department, Santa Barbara.

MAYOR LAGUARDIA

THERE is nation-wide interest in New York's spectacular change from corruption to incorruptibility, and everywhere congratulations are being extended to our greatest American city on Mayor LaGuardia's election and installation. The only note of regret comes from those who were seriously lamenting the disappearance of LaGuardia from the national

scene and who now fear his absence from Capitol Hill may be indefinitely prolonged. A Washington newspaper correspondent who always knew that he could get "straight goods" from Congressman LaGuardia about any important national question said to one of the editors of this *Review*, "You will understand how I feel if I tell you that I feel as I would if I had been told that George Norris was going out of the Senate to be Mayor of Omaha!"

But the editors of this *Review* are social workers and they congratulate New York not only on their able, honest, and courageous mayor but on the excellent appointments in their field of interest which were so promptly made, particularly such appointments as that of William Hodson as Commissioner of Public Welfare; of Austin H. MacCormick as Commissioner of Correction; of Dr. John L. Rice as Health Commissioner; of Dr. Sigismund S. Goldwater as Commissioner of Hospitals; and of Langdon W. Post as Tenement House Commissioner. Chicago may be envious, but she shares in the national rejoicing over our great example of municipal house-cleaning.

MEDICAL CARE FOR TRANSIENTS

CURRENT reports from the various treatment centers for transients established by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration indicate a pressing need for lifting the ban against using federal funds to provide hospital care for these groups. Increasingly, all over the country, workers in the transient centers, faced with urgent cases of illness, resort to the expedient of screening off one corner of a shelter to provide the care so desperately needed. This means of circumventing the federal ruling fails to provide the quality of service required and exposes the healthy residents of the shelters to needless risks. Meantime in many of the communities where transient centers are located, hospital beds are vacant and nurses and doctors are underemployed. In the case of many transients the surest way to prepare them for a stable adjustment in society is to cure or correct the physical ailments and defects that impair their employability. The recent action of the A.A.S.W. at the Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work asking that federal funds be used to provide adequate hospital care for transients merits the support of social workers and other interested persons everywhere.

A. W. McM.

THE WASHINGTON MEETING

THERE is only time as the *Review* goes to press to record briefly the important meeting called by the American Association of Social Workers in Washington, February 17-18, to discuss "Governmental Objectives for Social Work." The meeting might even be called momentous because it so clearly marked a definite break with some old traditions that have been gradually disappearing not only in some of the chapters of the Association but in the whole organization since the dark days of the depression began to multiply social work problems with such recurrent exigency. In its early days there was danger that the Association might be too much like a narrow kind of trade-union, chiefly concerned about the working conditions of its own members and their immediate interests, rather than the formulation of public policies that promise to give service and to bring about a higher standard of life for the great mass of people. Social workers should, of course, be concerned about working hours, vacations, and salaries in the profession, but they must first of all be concerned about those in whose service they are professionally enlisted. The old tradition of the National Conference of Social Work was that the delegates should carefully refrain from any public declaration of policy in the name of the Conference. The underlying assumption was that the objectives of the social worker could not be defined with scientific clarity and that there were always likely to be opinions of equal value on both sides of any question of social policy.

Carefully prepared memoranda were circulated in advance of the Washington meeting, and the discussion throughout was thoughtful and illuminating. For example, one of the most exigent subjects dealt with was the threatened end of civil works. The memorandum circulated by the subcommittee on federal action, of which Miss Colcord was chairman, contained the following challenging statement on this subject:

Civil Works began on November 15, 1933. By January 1, 1934, it was employing upwards of four million persons.

Its best friends concede that it was too hastily launched and that the relief machinery of the country had too little warning and time for preparation. There were no doubt compelling factors, arising out of the hazards in the whole recovery program, which make this necessary. The difficulties in the Civil Works program to date—and they have been many—have been largely attributable to three factors, of which lack of time for preparation has been the most important. The other major handicaps have been restrictions in the matter of wage rates and choice of projects laid upon it through its dependence upon the Public Works Act; and the awakening of eager interest in it on the part of politicians

and spoilsmen when they learned that it involved large cash disbursements for wages and materials.

But although Civil Works loaded a second enormously complicated task on the shoulders of relief administrations, they were undertaken with a will, in the full realization that some lost motion and adjustments would be inevitable, and in the expectation that the experimental period could soon be worked through. It was with corresponding dismay that social workers in general learned of the proposed discontinuance of a program which had brought comparatively satisfactory results in so short a period. Instead of leading, as they had hoped, in the direction of a permanent social *reform*, it became apparent that Civil Works was not regarded by the Federal Administration as even an integral part of *recovery*, but only a preliminary step towards it.

The decision to curtail in summary fashion a program which has been pushed forward under "forced draft" involves disappointment piled upon disappointment to the millions still unemployed, and will in our judgment throw an unmanageable task of reorganization back upon the relief administrations.

The Relief Administrator generously took time to present the federal relief situation to the Conference, and it is significant that the assembled delegates voted that civil works should not be summarily ended.

The Washington meeting, in many ways, constitutes a landmark in our professional history. In a time of national crisis, the delegates of the Association accepted their responsibility in regard to national planning and the necessity of formulating clearly the governmental objectives in social welfare. There is assurance that clear thinking to formulate policies that are in the interests of the poor clients whose case and cause we represent and courage to defend these policies should be a part of the new tradition that is in the making.

EARL DEWEY MYERS

1898-1933

THE news of the death of Earl Dewey Myers at the early age of thirty-five after a long illness borne with great fortitude has been received with deep regret by his friends and former students in different parts of the country. He had served on the faculty of two schools of social work, the University of Chicago and Tulane University; and he had also taught at Mount Holyoke College, at the University of Pennsylvania, and at Northwestern University. He was one of the investigators for the Illinois Crime Survey in 1927, and his study of juvenile delinquency was published in the *Report of the Crime Committee*. In 1929 he was granted a fellowship by the Rockefeller Foundation to study post-war child welfare work abroad. He attended lectures for two terms at the London School of Economics

and then went to Germany, where he worked and studied for a period of eighteen months. He immediately made friends with German social workers and launched eagerly and vigorously into his chosen field of research. He even enjoyed the language, in which he felt at home, and he became interested in making German material more accessible to American social workers. He translated the great German Child Welfare Law, which he published in this *Review*, and he prepared, with the assistance of Dr. Herta Kraus of Cologne, a social work glossary, or *Fachwörterbuch der sozialen Arbeit*, for English-speaking social workers. He also published some articles in the *Social Service Review*, while he was abroad, and some articles on American social work for one or two German periodicals. While in Germany he not only studied the child welfare organization in Berlin but visited Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt-am-Main, Jena, Leipzig, Dresden, and various cities less well known.

He had great enthusiasm and a fine capacity for work as well as a genuine interest in social welfare. But he will be remembered even more because of his generous spirit and singularly frank and lovable disposition. A very promising career has been cut off by his early death.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Poor Law Code. Being the Poor Law Act, 1930, and the Poor Law Orders Now in Force. Annotated by W. IVOR JENNINGS. London: Charles Knight. Pp. 390. 42s.

The Poor Law Orders. Together with the Ministry of Health's Circulars and Memoranda Thereon. By a Barrister-at-Law. London: Law and Local Government Publishers, Ltd. Pp. 200. 5s. 6d.

The Guide to Poor Relief. By C. H. EXLEY. 3d ed. Liverpool: Meek, Thomas & Co., 1932. Pp. 191. 5s.

The Relieving Officers' Handbook. By W. H. DUMSDAY and JOHN MOSS. 4th ed. London: Hadden, Best & Co. Pp. 300. 15s.

The changes in the English Poor Law as a result of the great Poor Law Codification of 1927, the Local Government Act of 1929, and the Poor Law Act of 1930, are responsible for the publication of these four volumes listed above. *The Guide to Poor Relief*, written by a former clerk to one of the boards of poor law guardians, was so popular that three editions were issued in the first nine months after its publication.

Before the codification of 1927, England had some ninety-nine different statutes dealing with the state care of the poor. The great Elizabethan statute of 1601 was the first of these laws, and it was still in force three centuries later, although it had been amended many times. By means of skilful drafting, the ninety-nine different laws which had been passed over a period of more than three centuries were reduced to a single statute in the Poor Law of 1927. This was a long statute, of course, consisting of 244 sections and 10 schedules. But the important Local Government Board Act of 1929, which changed the administrative unit for poor law administration from the Poor Law Union under a special Board of Poor Law Guardians, to the County Councils and Borough Councils, immediately made necessary some drastic revisions of the great Consolidating Act of 1927. The new Poor Law Act of 1930 was reduced to 165 sections and 2 schedules.

Mr. Jennings reports that the skilful drafters of these Poor Laws of 1927 and 1930 were greatly handicapped by their inability "to modernize entirely the language of the old statutes," for that language had been "the subject of judicial interpretation for over three hundred years." The American policy, of course, would be to throw to the winds all the cumbersome attempts of the judicial mind to struggle with the problems that the modern professional social worker can deal with so skilfully, so simply, and so swiftly. But in Great Britain the Poor Law must apparently continue to remain a monument of the sixteenth century. Mr. Jennings points out that "its meaning is perfectly understood by

lawyers and the fruit of all that interpretation [of three hundred years of court decisions] would be lost if an attempt were made to state the same law in different words." The Poor Law Act of 1930, therefore, contains "much that is obsolete in practice and more that is obsolete in terminology." "The Act," we are told, "cannot be a perfect piece of legislation for it has to bear on its face the marks of three hundred years of political and judicial conflict." An American is inclined to think that another Dickens is needed to deal with the English Poor Law!

But the Poor Law also included the "Orders" issued after the establishment of a Central Administrative Authority in 1834 as well as the numerous court decisions over more than three centuries. Poor law orders come and go. Earlier orders are rescinded by later orders. But the important Public Assistance Order of 1930, the Relief Regulation Order of 1930, are also included in the Jennings volume.

It is difficult for American social workers to understand the lack of interest among British social workers in bringing Poor Law administration into line with modern social welfare theory. The British Poor Law is administered not by social workers but by salaried poor-law officers, "relieving officers" of various grades, who become competent in understanding and routinely administering the poor law regulations.

The *Relieving Officers' Handbook* shows how far the Poor Law administration is removed from modern social work standards. This *Handbook*, which has been prepared by two English barristers, is said to be a "complete and practical guide to the law relating to the powers, duties and liabilities of Relieving Officers." The Relieving Officers are, according to a circular issued by the Minister of Health, classified as "District Relieving Officers, Superintendents and General Relieving Officers, and Assistant Relieving Officers." "Cross visitors" may also "be employed to make independent inquiries and check the investigations of district officers." An American is glad to know that "in some cases women have been so employed with advantage as being more fitted to deal specially with questions affecting the welfare of women and children and the conditions of the homes in which they live" (quoted from a circular of the Local Government Board, which has now been succeeded by the Ministry of Health). It is also considered worthy of comment that a woman has also been appointed as visitor for children boarded out!

The "duty of a relieving officer" by an order of July 24, 1847, which was still part of the English Poor Law after the great codification of 1927, included among other things the receiving of applications for relief, after which the officer must proceed

... forthwith to examine into the circumstances of every case by visiting the house of the applicant . . . and by making all necessary inquiries into the state of health, the ability to work, the condition and family, and the means of such applicant, and . . . also to visit from time to time as requisite all paupers receiving relief, and to report concerning the same as the guardians may direct (*Handbook*, p. 51).

The attempt to routinize relief work on a large scale has been tried in some areas in this country since the depression years. Here, under the English Poor Law, is an acceptance of such routinization on a national basis and apparently no disposition to use modern scientific case work methods in place of the old legal rules. Certainly a study of English Poor Law policy is both a lesson and a warning to American social workers. For example, there is a provision which remained after the codification of 1927 that a

... person who applied for relief and had at the time of application in his possession and under his immediate control any money or other property of which, on inquiry made by the board of guardians or their officers, he does not make correct and complete disclosure, is to be taken to be an idle and disorderly person within the meaning of the Vagrancy Act, 1824 (5 Geo. 4, c. 83). (Poor Law Act, 1927, sec. 44 [3]. Quoted in *Handbook*, p. 53.)

Then there is the system of record writing described as the "case-paper system."

The R. O. is instructed that the use of a case-paper is not required in the case of any person so long as he is receiving relief as a casual pauper (Art. 5 [4]). It is required in every other case including relief under the out-door labour test system (*Handbook*, p. 110).

And of interest, too, is the index of "case-papers." The card index "being kept in strict alphabetical order of the paupers' names."

The "Apprenticeship of Pauper Children" is the subject of another section; the "Improper Promotion of Marriage of a Mother of a Bastard" is another; "Pauper and Wandering Lunatics" is another; "Removal of Paupers" is another.

A superintendent relieving officer or general relieving officer is usually required to arrange for and conduct under the direction of the clerk, the removal of paupers to their places of settlement (*Handbook*, p. 148).

Remembering the old warning about people living in glass houses, no further comment should probably be made on the English social worker's tolerance of the Elizabethan Poor Law in the twentieth century! The American social worker wants public assistance administered as a good family welfare society could and should administer such aid. This means the substitution of well-trained social workers for "relieving officers" and "cross visitors," and poor law "clerks" and "inspectors" and other routinized employees.

These are all useful books for an American student who wishes to understand the present "public assistance" arrangements under the new but still antiquated British Poor Law. Mr. Jennings also provides a brief but very competent review of certain legal aspects of poor-law history.

E. A.

No Money for Rent: A Study of the Rental Problem of Unemployment Relief Families and Their Landlords (Publication No. 6 of the Joint Committee on Research of the Community Council of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work). By EWAN CLAGUE. Philadelphia, 1933. Pp. 79. \$0.20.

Last year an illuminating study of what happens to destitute families when relief funds play out in a community was made by Ewan Clague, director of the Research Bureau of the Philadelphia Community Council. That study has now been supplemented by an investigation of what happens to families in cities that do not include rent in their relief budgets.

The study approaches the problem from two angles. The first fifty-five pages present the facts with respect to the families. The remainder of the report sets forth the information secured from landlords. Data obtained from the latter source clearly revealed that "any suspicion that the unemployed applicants were exaggerating their situation was utterly unfounded." The facts supplied by the landlords definitely established the accuracy of the circumstances reported by the families.

Approximately 90 per cent of all families included in three different samples were in arrears on rent. These arrearages are estimated to amount at any one time to no less than five million dollars. The rate of moving among relief families was found to be twice as great as the rate in these same families prior to their application for relief. Although the landlords reported that 18 per cent of the dwellings in their charge were vacant, overcrowding among the relief families was widespread. Among 845 families included in a sample taken in February, 1932, 120 lived in only one room, 118 lived in two rooms, and more than 90 per cent lived in six rooms or less. In general, a direct correlation was found between size of family and degree of overcrowding. Nearly half of all families living in two rooms consisted of four or more persons. Moreover, the evidence of extensive "doubling up" of families was unmistakable. If the three samples are representative, it seems clear that about one-fourth of the 70,000 households on county relief in Philadelphia represent "combined" rather than "natural" family groups.

The study completely demolishes the comforting theory so often preached by those who believe excessive costs of government should be reduced by curtailing the social services rather than by curbing graft and extravagance, namely, that the families can "pick up" enough on the side to pay the rent if the county supplies groceries and fuel. In one sample the median earnings of the group were less than \$2.00 per week and in another less than \$1.50 per week. These figures relate to the families that had earnings. The majority, of course, had no earnings of any description.

If any further indictment of the "no rent" policy were needed, this would be amply provided by the discussion of the problems these families face when forced to move. Approximately two-thirds either carried their goods through

the streets on their back or moved with pushcarts. Moving vans were not needed to transport the meager handful of furniture and personal effects still in their possession. The real difficulty was to find money for the first month's rent in the new home. Increasingly, landlords are accepting the first week's rent in the new home and are shifting to a weekly rental basis. This interesting trend recalls the slums of East London in the last century where Octavia Hill's young women made their rounds to collect the weekly rents. In more than a third of the cases studied in Philadelphia, friends and relatives supplied the cash for the down payment. As the report points out, "the co-operation shown by these destitute people in helping each other in emergencies is one of the striking features of the present depression." No one who reads the tragic record crowded into these few pages will be able to disagree with the central recommendation that "just as minimum standards have been established as a basis for the provision of food to destitute families so a similar policy of minimum standards should be adopted with regard to shelter." Social workers will likewise agree with the dictum that "such a minimum would certainly exclude a condition in which more than one-fourth of the households receiving unemployment relief represent two or more families in combination, in which large numbers of families are crowded together in inadequate quarters, and in which families increasingly are being broken up or are forced into a sort of urban nomadism."

A. W. McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

State Grants-in-Aid in Virginia (University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences). By TIPTON RAY SNAVELY, DUNCAN CLARK HYDE, and ALVIN BLOCKSOM BISCOE. New York: Century Co., 1933. Pp. xv+244. \$2.50.

Among the interesting developments in governmental organization is the increasing realization that important social tasks require for their successful accomplishment the participation of governmental units at each level. A great deal has been said about local autonomy as over against the state, and about states' rights as over against the federal government. But as the community attempts increasingly difficult services, the qualities of local initiative and local responsibility are found no less important, they are found to be simply inadequate. Moreover, of course, frequently the locality lacks the resources necessary to make its participation effective. The influence of the central authority, the state, is desired in some cases to stimulate; in some cases to supplement; in many instances to standardize the activities of the local unit. These effects cannot, however, be directly sought, since the local unit is sufficiently autonomous and must therefore be induced voluntarily to co-operate. The grant-in-aid is the measure used to assist, to stimulate, to establish, and to maintain minimum standards of administration and thus to secure over a wider area and in a greater variety of jurisdictions the participation of each governmental unit, obtaining

for the task undertaken the advantages of both local and central participation and an equalization between and among different portions of the state or nation of the enjoyment of its resources.

The task is obviously not an easy one. Generally the objects to be obtained, education, health service, welfare or relief, are themselves complicated and difficult, involving those persons who are seeking the attainment of their purposes in absorbing professional undertakings. The adoption of the grant-in-aid, too, involves new principles of allotting the cost. Shall they who benefit directly pay the cost? Such a principle would rule out the purpose of equalization. Or is the unity of community life sufficiently understood to recognize in the ultimate well-being of all the gain of all? In education the principle phrased itself in the words "the property of all may be taxed for the children of all."

The authors of this volume set out these difficulties and trace the experience in Virginia in the thorough and scientific manner characteristic of their Institute. A list of the chapters into which their discussion is divided indicates the comprehensiveness and thoroughness of their study. After stating the problem "The Theory of Grants-in-Aid" (chap. i) they discuss "State Subventions and the Tax System" (chap. ii), devote three chapters to education in Virginia ("History of Educational Finances," "State Aid for Education," and "Criticisms of the Present Policy"). They devote a chapter to "Highways" and one to a discussion of "Health and Welfare." Their "Conclusions" are embodied in the last chapter. Certain statistical data are given in an Appendix, and there is a Bibliography which will be very useful to later students or students of other jurisdictions.

Readers of the *Social Service Review* will be especially interested in the conclusions with reference to health and welfare. They are to the effect that such a program as has been indicated is essential to successful accomplishment in each of these fields.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

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Psychology - Child
✓ *Major Aspects of Personality*. By MAURICE H. KROUT. Chicago: The College Press, 1933. Pp. 364 \$2.75.

(The author of *The Psychology of Children's Lies* in the Department of Psychology at Crane Junior College has here tried to bring together the contributions of biology, anthropology, sociology, and psychology and weld them together to form a theory of personality.)

He started out as a skeptic in the field of psychoanalysis and believes he has "reformed." However, he still finds in spite of receiving daily confirmation of the applicability of psychoanalytic formulations to the study of behavior that he has refused to accede to some speculative assertions, theoretical, in nature, which are not, in his opinion, of the essence of psychoanalysis. He has found useless, for example, the theories (he refers to them as "notions") of a libido, "instinctual drives," dynamisms, the unconscious ("receptacle for all repressed ma-

terial"), a "censor" (acting as a mechanical policeman), and a "racial unconscious" (cf. group soul). He has, however, significantly enough, gladly accepted the psychoanalytic emphasis on mechanisms of personality adjustment. It is rather obvious that he was obliged to find useless, or relegate to the stamp of a notion, a few theories in order that his own theory of personality would be the better presented, for he has done exceedingly well in his distillation and redivision of the techniques of so many sciences that he has brought together as applicable to the study of the personality.

He thanks a legion of authorities for their time, thought, and suggestions in reading parts of this book. Such an array of illustrious names gives, in a small way, a vivid picture of the author's application and perseverance in writing effectively and circumspectly of the aspects of personality. Nevertheless, without this awesome support it still would be a creditable work and shrewdly does the author allow as much, for he admits that of all his obligations the heaviest one is that one to his wife for had it not been for her encouragement "this book would even now be a sort of a 'mental embryo' with birth-pains indefinitely postponed." Nice as this deserving compliment is, the author's concept of birth-pains is misleading and casts real doubts on the liberal or loose application he might make of the sciences, biological or physiological, as applied to the study and exposition of the personality. More technically and for the information of the readers of this otherwise well-oriented book, it should be stated that birth-pains are seldom, if ever, figuratively or actually, postponed—they are either delayed, irregular, or premature. Quite inappropriately then has the author referred to a deserving obligation in inaccurate terms.

The subject matter is presented impressively—exceptionally well outlined, clearly differentiated, and artfully evaluated. The author has raised the study of the personality out of the hodge-podge to which it has been relegated and at least can lay claim to the fact that he has lifted it up to a scientific scrutiny whereby it may be analyzable and studied dispassionately. His restatements at the end of each chapter are not only of value in the summary they make, but they also offer a pivotal point for unity and clarity too often not apparent in books of this kind. For students confused by the conflicting viewpoints in vogue in relation to the study of the personality this feature of this book will serve them materially more than they may guess.

Whereas the author throws out certain psychoanalytic concepts in an offhand manner, he has accurately and forcefully thrust in in an authoritative and vivid (by sketch) manner those symbolic features of the personality traits first offered by Freud and his colleagues. The author must be indebted to Blitzen for this liberal inclusion, although the early contribution of Rank in regard to the effect of birth-traumas and their inferred effect upon the personality is not referred to.

In addition to a comprehensive outline of the personality in which the ecological, biological, cultural, prenatal, natal, early and later postnatal developmental factors are included, there is the situational study including medical laboratory, medico-clinical, psychological-laboratory, and psycho-clinical. The

final summary and diagnosis with developmental and situational studies along with recommendations are distinctly clear cut. There are questions, too, for each chapter to be answered.

The notes and a selected biography which are an integral part of this book will convince almost anyone that the study of the major aspects of personality can be a serious undertaking and that, at best, it is the débris which we still have to sort out and clear away before we can proceed very far that is of major importance.

H. E. CHAMBERLAIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Child Psychology. By BUFORD J. JOHNSON, Professor of Psychology in the Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, Maryland: Charles C. Thomas, 1932. Pp. 439. \$4.00.

In the Preface of this book, Professor Johnson reveals a rare and an enviable trait for one who is privileged to make of child life an experimental study. In one part she gratefully acknowledges her indebtedness to the parents of the children who have attended the Child Institute of the Johns Hopkins University, and concludes the Preface thus: "I owe more to the children whom I have had the privilege to observe than to any other source of knowledge; not merely because they were the objects of study but for their gifts as teachers." Such a gracious candor extended to parents and children sorely tempts a sympathetic reviewer to italicize "their gifts as teachers."

Child Psychology in composition and presentation is done in a superior and able manner according to the best tradition of nursery schools and child study institutes in America. Illustrations, charts, graphs, motion-picture records, variations, classifications, and indexes are numerous enough to convince one that this book is not an idle gesture nor a routine courtesy to scientific principle. By its direct observations of self-initiated activity in children and its references to the results of scientific investigations in child psychology it almost makes of child study an apotheosis of science and not the anathema many would make it. To Professor Johnson credit must be given for having ably referred to and incorporated into the body of her text the more reliable contributions made by experimental psychologists.

Perhaps it is unfair to quibble over technicalities and details but surely in a work of this kind which so nearly approaches the exceptional one would be negligent in the extreme, not to mention its regrettable omissions, overemphases, and infrequent inconsistencies. Perhaps it is the title that is at fault—too comprehensive, too all-inclusive—as to be misleading. As the purely academic and the didactic invariably tend to end with isolation and dissection, so, too, is it with this treatise on child psychology. Too little is admitted as to the importance of the influence of parents on the psychological aspects of child life. And in this book one gains the impression that they left them, no mean contribution in itself

as the author gratefully acknowledges, at the laboratory of the Child Institute of the Johns Hopkins University. But then, too, Professor Johnson is as sparing of investigators and psychologists and does not tell of their importance or their influence in the psychological aspects of child life. It is surmised that Professor Johnson is too astute and too wise to fall into this laborious error. However, it is misleading to the modern student, anxious in the presence of misconception and eager to misconstrue the misleading, to have a book on *Child Psychology* as captioned without subtitle as to give totality to a facet or an entity to a panel. And so it happens that the chapters on emotion and social behavior and personality are distortions by the very preciseness and dissection which elsewhere applied in the book are invaluable techniques. On page 189 the condemnation given to the playful father who would romp at bedtime with a child whose "periods of undue excitation may be forestalled by draining his interests into a quieter channel" is academically dubbed as "the practice . . . pernicious." 'Tis the stomp of the father and not his romp, many contend, that might give quality to childhood bedtime excitability, be it detrimental or beneficial.

Of the eleven chapters, those which deal with periods of growth, learning, infant responses, locomotion, attention and perception, thought, and individual differences are the most ably presented and the orthodox psychologist will find it indeed difficult to complain about them. But the one on manipulation disposes of left-handedness with less precision of the analysis of the factors associated with it than is usually given to this extremely complicated and controversial question. And the thirty-six pages of the chapter on speech includes only approximately two pages in relation to emotional tendencies! Here, again, the influence of parents and investigators, or the influence of their attitudes toward speech in particular, gives way to evaluations of word formation, vocabulary, grammatical construction, word association, and information. But even so, Professor Johnson is not duped into the false belief that the emotional content of speech is not important, for herein, in this chapter on speech, it is evident that the human-interest content of daily life so prevalent throughout the book is not deleted and is used with strategy. Some kindergartners gave incorrect responses which "clearly illustrate the influence of association of words upon the acquisition of facts." An answer to "Who is Dempsey?" was "Dempsey-Tunney." But a partisan in pugilistic circles and less given to scientific pursuits than Professor Johnson might wonder if this clear illustration of the influence of the association of words upon the acquisition of facts had not been modified by the confusion or the perplexity or the bias, created by an one-time long count on a father who was given to stomping or romping at the bedtime of his child. At least it suggests a compromising neutrality none too safe nor unwise even at the ringside. Another example was given: a kindergartner's answer to "Who is Al Smith?" was "made our sidewalk." But does this "clearly illustrate the influence of the association of words upon the acquisition of facts"? It would appear

to be so in the laboratory but in a book on child psychology deference to other concepts could at least be implied. Perhaps not in Baltimore, but elsewhere certainly, many an adult in close association with children was hopeful, if not actually convinced, that if given a chance, Al Smith with derby in hand would make bigger and better sidewalks, wide and wet, by which fathers, uncles, or older brothers, or most anyone might reach home from work with their heads up, joyously inebriated or contented with sobriety to stomp or romp at the bedside of children as was their wont. Were this book being written today it would not be surprising to receive from a kindergartner the incoherent answer "Al Smith is a sidewalk vendor of soup and meat." So vehemently has he expressed himself in his outlook on the "New Deal" in reference to making soup of the alphabet and making dollars into bologna that many an adult, parent or investigator, begins to wonder if his confidence, wherever it may now be, has not been abused or misplaced. But in this chapter on speech the emotions that are involved in speech impairment are scarcely noted—as such—and the mystery is why more kindergartners dare not be misinformed.

This is one book in the psychological field that neither extols nor damns the psychoanalytic. It neither compliments it in order to tear it to pieces nor does it slander it in order to write a book to establish a conventional superiority. (What a relief this should be to a great many is problematical but your reviewer naïvely disguising his own apparent feelings—primarily for the sake of the continuity of this review—is satisfied to let the book be as it is.) Professor Johnson simply ignores psychoanalysis, and significant as it is or is not, depending upon your viewpoint in part, this book all told has dignity—modestly authoritative, critically observant, and politely aggressive.

H. E. C.

The Human Personality. By LOUIS BERG, M.D. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933. Pp. xv+321. \$3.00.

Dr. Berg is an attending physician to the New York County Penitentiary and Workhouse and is author of *Prison Doctor*. His thesis in *The Human Personality* is that personality and character are reflected in human response as a result of conflict in a broad and universal sense, and he explains generously how through education we may avoid pitfalls that make for maladjustment and unhappiness. Being the attending physician that he is, it is no mere gesture that he kindly dedicates his book to his mother, "who made all things possible," and not mere chance that he is credited with having drawn from *all* the sciences in this book rather than having voiced the point of view of a single school of thought or of any one science. In "Dreams: The Language of Conflict" (chap. x) is Dr. Berg at his best—clear-cut and analytic—really is, and explains, "Let us pity neither the poor, nor the rich, nor the defeated of life; pity only those who cannot dream" (p. 167).

The human personality is a magic carpet upon which many an investigator of the humanities likes to ride. It has carried many away and left them stranded.

The Human Personality does not contain, nor does it pretend to, any new concept or original viewpoint; it simply reflects the present-day emphases popularly expounded. Biology and genetics contribute to the problems of how we behave and how we become what we are. "The Glandular Basis of Personality" and "The Fiction of Normalcy" are good for a chapter each. Preponderantly is the text weighed down with the pathologic manifestations of human life, and it may be the human personality is just that—wavering to and fro with its digressions from the normal—and if so Dr. Berg in his extensive investigations is quite justified in presenting it as ably as he has done in this book for the sequence of the material presented is provocative. Professing to represent the sociologist's point of view in the conception of the influence of experience there is also a trace of the psychiatrist, a sizeable trace which the critics of psychiatry will indeed relish, for Dr. Berg is the true interrogator always—raises many questions and leaves many answers to analogy or turns professionally to other obscure unanswerable issues. In one place (p. 131) he records:

Witness the mounting rate of divorce and separation. Listen to the vast army of jokes about marriage and the family. Listen to young people's cynical comments upon the noble institution. Remember that extra-conjugal sex relations are deemed almost respectable if mere discretion is practiced. And estimate the effect of the new economic order upon the family—thousands of women have become but part-time wives and mothers. Above all, ask any psychologist or psychiatrist about the future of the family. He will affirm that natural evolution—in the case of the family—and the new education are running a race; and that at the finish line, evolution as it is at present directed will meet catastrophe, and there will be the shattering of a long-cherished and happy illusion—the family as the incarnation of the order of things as they should be.

Evolution or education: Which will win?

Interesting and readable as this book is, the reviewer closed it with a feeling of—well let it be said that he simply closed it. For surely Dr. Berg has ridden high on *The Human Personality* and has seen the mist that shrouds a Utopia and rides on to believe that "since it is obvious that we cannot speed the biologic process—it is most often beyond our control, whatever the eugenists say—it remains for education in which *the psychiatrist must lead the way*"; and again rides on to see "If happiness is the goal of all life—and we may assume that it is—*modern psychiatry can point the way* to its achievement by its knowledge of the development of the balanced and wholesome personality."

It is seriously questioned as conditions are today with humankind as both the lay or the professionally minded, if psychiatry could do as much as Dr. Berg envisions for it and if it would be permitted to do it or it would be desirable that it be done. In another volume, it is felt, Dr. Berg would be able to return, riding hard, and just as enthusiastically as he has ridden high on the magic carpet in this.

H. E. C.

L'Hygiène Sociale de l'Enfance (Health Work for Children). By DR. G. BANU. Brussels: Association Internationale pour la Protection de l'Enfance; Paris: Masson et Cie. I (1930), 717. II (1933), 967+xxv.

The author, a prominent physician of Bucharest, Roumania, editor of a social welfare periodical and well known, even outside of his own country, for his activities on behalf of children, prepared this report under the auspices of the International Association for the Protection of Childhood. A manifestation of the post-war anxiety over child preservation, this report is the most detailed account of the theory and practice of maternal and child health work in Europe and America published in a foreign language in recent years.

In his capacity of physician, Dr. Banu gives almost one-half of his space to the theory of eugenics and heredity, to physiology, pathology, and hygiene of maternity and childhood as foundations for practical work. Work with mothers and children under one year old in its various aspects, including medical and financial aid, and legislation in 20 countries, is the subject of the first volume. The second volume is devoted to children of preschool age and school age and contains, among others, chapters on physical examinations and care of physical and mental health of normal children, and of those in need of special care, and descriptions of the health work done in various countries, both by the governments and by private initiative. In both volumes discussions of standards occupy a prominent place.

It is the social worker's viewpoint that is predominant in the book. Dr. Banu understands the sufferings of the mothers and children of the underprivileged classes. He advocates large-scale preventive work by means of regular physical examinations and other forms of medical supervision; special training for physicians engaged in child health work; and economic assistance to needy mothers of little children. He recognizes the importance of keeping mother and child together, even at a cost to the government, but above all he emphasizes the duty of the government to protect the health of the mothers and children.

Naturally enough, the author, writing in the French language, centers his attention on France and Belgium, but he also shows a good knowledge of the situation in other countries, particularly the United States. However, an inquisitive reader may ask why, in a work of almost encyclopedic proportions, the author overlooked the Soviet Union, except for a few lines referring to 1918, while giving considerable space to Greece, for instance. But, perhaps, the admirers of the magnificent work done by the Soviet Government for its young generation will find some consolation in the fact that many of the important achievements in the same field in fascist Italy have also been omitted by the author.

On the whole a reader in search of information on child health work will be well rewarded by a perusal of this book.

ANNA KALET SMITH

CHILDREN'S BUREAU
U.S. DEPT. OF LABOR

Human Sterilization: The History of the Sexual Sterilization Movement.

By J. H. LANDMAN, PH.D., J.D., J.S.D. New York: Macmillan, 1932.

Pp. xviii+341. \$4.00.

The study by Dr. Landman of the development of compulsory sterilization legislation, the biological facts and theories and the social attitude upon which such laws are based, make a valuable addition to the literature of the movement for sexual sterilization. Legislation for the control of the socially incompetent fraction of the population through the method of human sterilization has been increasing in the United States. The author points out that thirty states have at one time or another enacted such sterilization laws and that there are twenty-seven states that have valid and legal human sterilization laws on their statute-books. Since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1927 (*Buck v. Bell*), the constitutionality of these laws has been assured and interest in this method of dealing with socially incompetents has been enlarged.

Dr. Landman analyzes the nature of feeble-mindedness and mental diseases and the basis upon which it has been assumed that these conditions are biologically transmitted. The evidence presented would indicate that the mentally defective and psychotic individuals in a large majority of instances appear in families free from such defects, at least so far as the parents and siblings are concerned. If the assumption is correct that in many instances parents are latent carriers of such traits, sterilization would need to be applied to a very large part of the population if the transmission of these defects is to be prevented. There is, to quote the author, "a great need for more science and less speculation since there is little basis for assuming that mental deficiency and mental disease are unitary characters of a simple Mendelian nature."

The study also covers the surgical and biological aspects of human sterilization and goes on to consider the administration of sterilization laws and the practices of mental institutions in paroling and discharging inmates with and without sterilization. While Dr. Landman does not present a thesis either for or against the program of human sterilization, the weight of his argument on social grounds tends to urge action in the formulation and administration of sterilization laws.

H. L. LURIE

BUREAU OF JEWISH SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK CITY

Modern Woman and Sex: A Feminist Physician Speaks. By RACHELLE S. YARROS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1933. Pp. 218. \$2.00.

"Thus is a plumb-line radical turned, by the logic of facts, into a half apologetic pragmatist." This final sentence in Dr. Yarros' *Modern Woman and Sex* sums up her reasoning throughout the book. Fearlessly accepting facts, as she has come upon them in the lives of her patients, as the basis of her hypothesis, Dr. Yarros develops a system of ethics, in this book, which will seem too radical to the conservatives among men, and too conservative to the radicals, but which

will please almost all women, conservative, radical, and those between, beyond their utmost expectations.

The book is a sound, straightforward presentation of the problem of sex, and the solution of the problem, offered by Dr. Yarros, is clearly put down in terms of everyday living. Dr. Yarros recognizes the twofold function of sex, reproduction and happiness, in the lives of human beings, and she finds no shame in either. On the contrary, the object of the book is to improve the orientation of these two factors throughout the social organism. Dr. Yarros frankly believes that human happiness is a desideratum in itself and that the right use of sex is of paramount importance in its achievement. The right use of sex is nicely defined, by Dr. Yarros, in terms of human liberty. While she would willingly destroy certain ancient laws and customs, such as the laws against birth control and abortion, which have restricted the right of human beings, mainly women, to order their own lives, she nowhere confuses liberty with license. She staunchly defends marriage, not as it is but as it ought to be, and sets definite limits to personal freedom. The limits, however, are not superficial and Comstockian, arbitrarily calcifying current customs into an unnatural system of man-made morals. License and liberty are as sharply separated from one another, in the realm of sex, as elsewhere, and Dr. Yarros places the boundary line where it belongs. Personal freedom inevitably stops at a point where the liberty of one individual begins to infringe upon that of another. Most men writing on sex have overlooked this circumstance. Being a woman, Dr. Yarros perceives it clearly.

The most modern thing in the book, and probably the most contentious, is Dr. Yarros' outspoken defense of artificial abortion. She frankly advocates the Russian system, and anticipates its adoption in America.

Throughout the book Dr. Yarros has the temerity to demand, for women, the right to full ownership of, not merely an equity in, their bodies. She definitely discards the philosophy that the rights of women must be subordinated to their maternal function. Especially in the economic field she flatly requires complete independence for women.

Modern Woman and Sex will be a delight to all good feminists. They may not agree, at every point, but they will find Dr. Yarros' reasoning in accord with their own type of cerebration. Antifeminists had best beware. Dr. Yarros marshals an army of facts designed to explode their most cherished theories.

As a milestone on the road toward progress, *Modern Woman and Sex* marks the beginning of a new epoch. The Victorian Era, with its cant and hypocrisy about women, is gone. The half-angel, half-idiot of bygone years, emerges in Dr. Yarros' book as *homo sapiens* of the female gender, with all the rights and prerogatives of a human being.

There is only one sentence in the book with which it is impossible to agree, and that is the last one. The word "radical" is much abused these days, but it still implies reaching to the root, the *radix*. The ugly side of sex, its base, its noxious potency, derives from the subordination of women. In *Modern Woman and Sex*, Dr. Yarros goes to the root of the matter, diagnoses the disease which

afflicts humanity, in the province of sex, and suggests the remedies. She is a radical whether she knows it or not, and, what is still better, she is a common-sense radical.

ROLAND PARK, MARYLAND

EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER

✓ *National planning*
Planning and National Recovery. Planning Problems Presented at the Twenty-fifth National Conference on City Planning, Baltimore, Md., October 9-11, 1933. Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Co., 1933. Pp. 158. \$3.00.

Social workers will be interested to observe that one-third of the program of the latest National Conference on City Planning was devoted to "Slum Clearance and City Planning." The papers covered architectural, planning, social, and legal and administrative problems in slum clearance and low-cost housing, discussed by Robert D. Kohn, Director of Housing, PWA, Edwin S. Burdell, of Ohio State University, Harland Bartholomew, distinguished planner, and past-president of the N.C.C.P., and many others. It is noteworthy that only the last two annual planning conferences, the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, have brought housing within their purview. It is encouraging to see this recognition that the housing problem is not merely one of building a better structure on the site of a bad one, but involves comprehensive neighborhood re-planning, the provision of recreation spaces, easy access to work, the exclusion of unsuited structures and uses, and the other elements with which city planners have concerned themselves. Per contra, it is encouraging that the planners realize that they have not made the ideal city if they have mapped arterial highways, civic centers, and parks, and have failed to deal with the living needs of ordinary people—the use to which most urban land is in fact put.

(What may ultimately prove of even greater significance is that this year for the first time the Planning Conference concerned itself with "Large-Scale Regional and Rural Land Planning"; and listened to Arthur E. Morgan tell of the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and to Lewis C. Gray, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, and their fellow-thinkers.) Here has been another stream of thought, growing for a generation, which has been concerned with population flows, with the withdrawal of submarginal lands from cultivation, with soil erosion and flood control, with reforestation and the conservation of natural resources. It is indeed high time that the urban and rural planners should bring their thinking together; their merged thinking will have important, if not immediate, significance to the social worker. If President Roosevelt's dream of a balanced economy, of regional self-sufficiency, of a blending of agriculture and industry as a mode of life can be brought about, many of the problems which in their acute manifestations produce the urban slum may be nearer solution.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
 OF HOUSING OFFICIALS
 CHICAGO

CHARLES S. ASCHER

Catharine Esther Beecher—Pioneer Educator. By MAE ELIZABETH HARVESON. Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press Printing Co., 1932. Pp. xi+295. \$2.50.

The part which women have played in the educational history of the United States has been quite generally ignored by scholars, although it has been far from unimportant. Fortunately, in recent years not only educational and social histories but biographies of pioneer women educators have shown the significance of the rôle of women in advancing education.

Catharine Beecher was one of the pioneers, and it is fitting that there should be as careful a study of her aims and activities as this well-written and carefully documented work by Dr. Harveson.

Catharine was more or less overshadowed by her distinguished father, Lyman Beecher, her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, and her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe. As the oldest of a large family of children, she was frequently called upon to subordinate her personal interests to theirs. The death in a shipwreck of her fiancé, a promising young professor of Yale College, was a shattering blow, especially as he had died without becoming a church member. This, to one of Calvinistic upbringing, caused unspeakable spiritual torment and led to her lifelong view that in Calvinism there was "a dreadful mistake somewhere." A more significant result was that, seeking an occupation for her restless mind and independent character and considering the schoolroom too limited in its sphere, she determined to find a "course leading to a more extended usefulness." Here was the germ not only of pedagogy but of social welfare. From that time on, her long life, which began in 1800 and lasted until 1878, was devoted to this end. Her activities took in general three forms, viz., the spread of general education, especially in the New West, the founding of schools for "females" that would have a permanent existence, be established on democratic principles of government, and carry on scholarly work, and, finally, through books, addresses, and articles, the promotion of her views on education.

She believed that women's chief duties are as "housekeeper, wife, mother, and chief educator of the nation's children." She contended that the preparation for woman's threefold profession included training of the human mind, the care of the human body, and the conservation of the family state.

So absorbed was she in her immediate aims that she took a very conservative attitude toward the three great questions of her day—temperance, slavery, and woman's rights.

There is a note of tragedy in the fact that, of all the educational institutions for women which she organized, only one survives—the one which is honorably known as Milwaukee-Downer College.

The other fruits of her labors are less evident but of genuine importance. Women's intellectual and social advance, as well as in some measure the popular conception of the importance of general education, is due in part at least to the indefatigable and courageous efforts of Catharine Beecher. It is well that her deeds should be so worthily recorded and estimated.

MARION TALBOT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Americans at Play: Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities. By JESSE F. STEINER. New York: McGraw Hill, 1933. Pp. 201. \$2.50.

Recreation, "one of the compelling interests in human life," is discussed in many of its aspects by Professor Steiner in this monograph published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. Because of the wide range of activities comprising the field of recreation, emphasis has been placed in this study "primarily upon parks and playgrounds, competitive sports and games, commercial amusements, leisure time clubs and associations, pleasure travel and the varied activities associated with outdoor vacation life. Consideration has not been given to the intellectual and cultural leisure time pursuits such as reading, art, music, drama and the other interests of a similar nature." Even within the limits indicated, such widely different types of recreation activities and organizations are discussed as national parks and prize fighting, social settlements and horse racing, cabarets and Y.M.C.A.'s, moving pictures and public playgrounds. The many and varied statistical data which appear in the volume bear evidence of the widespread and painstaking research conducted by Professor Steiner in its preparation.

The urbanization of America during the past century, the marked increase in the hours of leisure largely as a result of industrialization, and the greatly increased purchasing power of the American public are among the factors to which the rise of modern recreation is attributed. Furthermore, "the modern recreation movement began to go forward when play gained recognition as a means to healthful living and was no longer stigmatized as a form of idleness." . . . "A new era in the history of recreation began when the government accepted responsibility for the provision of public recreational facilities."

One of the outstanding trends in recent years has been the rapidly increasing extent to which persons, especially in the cities, have turned to the great open spaces for their recreation. The significance and extent of this movement are illustrated by the following statistics: Forty-five million people visited state parks and forests in 1928; thirty-two million people visited the national forests in 1930, and more than three million people found recreation in the national parks in 1931. Approximately forty million people enjoy vacation motor tours in this country each year. Thirteen million people in the United States either fished or hunted during the year 1929. There are more than one and a half-million motor boats of all types in the United States.

Although the part which passive forms of recreation are playing is fully recognized, it is encouraging to note the increasing emphasis upon participation in various types of outdoor activities. Likewise it is reassuring to know that whereas in the latter half of the nineteenth century "the chief interest of the populace was in public spectacles rather than in active participation in the games themselves" and that "it was professional and not amateur athletics that claimed a large share of public attention," today "Americans are becoming a

nation of players who get their thrill not merely by standing on the sidelines but by active participation in games of their choice."

This statement is substantiated by much evidence indicating the tremendous increase in facilities provided by both public and private agencies. Examples are cited of the large numbers of persons taking part in various types of outdoor sports and activities. Golf, for example, which is almost entirely a game for participants, leads all sports in the amount of money expended each year for equipment. The close interrelation of spectatorism and participation is considered in a very effective manner.

"The vogue of the joiner is on the decline," states the author in a chapter discussing social organization in the field of leisure. Another trend is the greater emphasis upon recreational associations, particularly those which are highly specialized, catering to a group interested in a single sport or a limited number of sports which are closely related. Mention is also made of the expanding rôle of national associations which now occupy a dominant position in the recreation field inconsistent with earlier traditions of local community control. Whereas the importance of national associations cannot be questioned, there might be a difference of opinion as to the statement that "all are engulfed in the growing multiplicity of organizations with their standardized programs and activities which now dominate the recreational life of the people."

The increasingly important part which the various branches of government are taking in recreation is repeatedly emphasized in the volume. The overwhelming share which private and commercial organizations have in the provision for recreation, however, is illustrated by the estimated annual expenditures for recreation. Out of a total of more than ten billion dollars, it is estimated that total government expenditures amount to only \$193,410,000. Travel and mobility and commercial amusements account for approximately seven-eighths of the total expenditures.

Professor Steiner has done a real service and has made a valuable contribution to the literature on the recreation movement in the compilation of this monograph. It is perhaps unfortunate that consideration is not given to such phases of recreation as music, drama, arts, and crafts which play such an important part in the recreation programs of both public and private recreation organizations. These subjects, however, are treated in another volume of the series on social trends. *Americans at Play* closes with the following: "Perhaps during a period of slower development there may be greater success in building up a well balanced recreational program, more carefully planned in the interests of the general welfare." All who recognize the growing importance of recreation in American life will hope that this outcome may be realized.

GEORGE D. BUTLER

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION
NEW YORK CITY

Lads' Clubs, Their History, Organisation and Management. By CHARLES E. B. RUSSELL and LILIAN M. RUSSELL. London: A. & C. Black, 1932; published in the United States by the Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. xvi+272. \$1.75.

A Survey of Work for Boys in Brooklyn (Study 7 of the Research Bureau of the Welfare Council). New York: Welfare Council of New York City, October, 1931. Pp. xv+319.

The first of these books is a new edition of the English classic in the boys' club field, *Working Lads' Clubs*, revised by the wife of the late Charles Russell. While based on English history and experience, it is a useful manual for workers with boys anywhere. Its wealth of details in everything from choosing leaders to planning buildings is saturated with the philosophy of the author, which is at once religious and highly realistic and practical. There are, however, certain disappointments. The author with a fine sense of justice and historical discrimination roots the need of the boys' club in the crushing and devouring lust of the industrial revolution. Its child labor, poverty, and crowded cities stunted youth. But the later pages of the book show little revolt against these conditions. The author becomes engrossed in the details of making life bearable in the midst of such conditions, which in essence continue today. Perhaps it is too much to expect otherwise of a book intended principally as a technical guide. But when the book comes to attempts at summarizing results (that most difficult task of any social agency) attitudes toward these basic reasons for the club are still not found among the criteria. Such general ideas as "character," "the making of men," and even "the safety of Britain and the triumph of Britain's ideals" appear among the results presumably gained.

The American volume confines itself to the narrow limitations of a detailed survey of the cultural and recreational facilities of Brooklyn, and then sets out to determine by innumerable figures and charts, questionnaires, and maps, what are the needs, desires, and quantitative success in meeting the same on the part of the boys' clubs of the city. An effort to get at that problem which bothers every social worker, "Just what are we trying to do and are we doing it?" again meets with scientific despair.

An attempt is made to break down the usual generalizations of "character building" as an aim into such explicit purposes as prevention of delinquency, training boys to be good members of certain organizations training for citizenship, enrichment of personality for the boy's own sake. It is found that in every one of these fields, save perhaps that of gaining members for adult organizations, there can be no standards of measurement. No comparable data are kept by the various clubs. Differences of practices in police precincts further complicate delinquency tests. Nobody has devised means of measuring character.

Much of the volume is devoted to a detailed study of backgrounds, habits, and preferences of 1,533 boys in three schools in a cross-section of the city. Lovers of statistics with a good reading glass will revel in the finely printed

pages of compiled facts. Boys' workers who want some general suggestions on what their young friends think (including what they may think of them), desire, and do, will skip the figures and read the conclusions—as I did.

This book is recommended for the research man in boys' work, the psychologist, and director. Don't give it to the volunteer you are trying to induce to take a class. For him, the British book is better despite its forthright class-conscious reference to "ragged schools" and swanky use of "lads" instead of plain "boys." But above all add to your volunteers' reading a volume on municipal housing and a good history of the American labor movement as a partial answer to the why of boys' clubs.

KARL BORDERS

CHICAGO COMMONS

Educating for Citizenship. By GEORGE A. COE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. xvi+205. \$2.00.

For the social worker, Dr. Coe's *Educating for Citizenship* has a dual significance. In the first place, it depicts a liberal's hope of what education—potential ally of social work—may aim to accomplish in the future. This understanding may give new courage to social workers who constantly find themselves in co-operation, and sometimes in conflict, with school administrators, teachers, and policies.

The book's second contribution to social workers is of deeper significance and is much less obvious to the reader. Education and social work are not only related fields; in many respects they are interrelated. Many aspects of social work are education, and many phases of education may be spoken of as social work. Thus, problems faced and principles utilized in one field are often faced or used in the other. These interrelationships may be considered primarily under three heads: objectives, techniques, and directing forces.

With regard to objectives, Dr. Coe writes of education for citizenship: "It will produce increased participation in the activities of the sovereign state. . . . Boys and girls will perceive that the finality with which their conduct as members of the state must reckon is human persons who grow, enjoy and suffer." His catalogue of the objectives of education reads like the program of an ardent social reformer.

Turning to techniques, the problems discussed in his chapter "Self-Government" have deep meaning for the social worker. He questions the true value of student self-determination when educators retain the right to abolish the whole system of self-government should the students propose to act contrary to the administration's program. The comparable problem of social work may be represented by "cases closed for want of co-operation" or the "withdrawal of relief" until the client agrees to meet certain conditions.

Again, the social worker who "makes a plan *for*" his client will profit by reading the chapter "Propaganda or Education." Propaganda is defined as

"standing at a fixed point and endeavoring to bring other minds to the same position." Of this, Dr. Coe writes further: "Between inducing another to accept your fixed conclusion—you having done whatever thinking is necessary to validate the conclusion—and inducing him to consider a problem and to seek and weigh evidence, there is a deep gulf. A propagandist is not willing to submit his case in this manner to other men; the case is for him already settled, and what remains is to make the other fellow accept the settlement." But, of course, such tactics have long since disappeared from the social-work field!

In discussing the "Power behind the Throne," Dr. Coe introduces a subject that social workers are forced to consider. Who, after all, rules the school? Ambitious parents, employers of labor, or fear of revolution; who is the master of the schoolmaster? Similarly, we might ask: Who is the master of the social worker? The implications of the question run deep. Dr. Coe's chapter on "The Federal Government" has more than passing interest in these days when attitudes toward federal aid are changing rapidly. Education has preceded social work in securing support from the federal government, and possibly the problems which educators have already been forced to face may be confronting social workers tomorrow.

The author's discussions of still other educational principles, equally valid for social work, constitute a distinct contribution to social workers.

DONALD S. HOWARD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SETTLEMENT

Community Organization in Religious Education. By HUGH HARTSHORNE, PH.D., and J. QUINTER MILLER, PH.D., New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, for the Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932. Pp. xxvi+224, with 25 pp. of appendixes and Bibliography. \$2.00.

Thirteen agencies (councils, federations, associations, etc.) in eleven different communities were studied by the editors of this book, assisted by a staff of competent investigators, "in the endeavor to discover not only the principles of organization that underlie the existing programs but also the factors that seem to be working for success on the one hand and failure on the other. . . . The study reveals prevailing weaknesses in organization which apparently result from too great dependence on standardized theories and programs and too little knowledge of the specific needs to be met . . . the deadening influence of a stereotype" (pp. xxv-xxvi). The reviewer of this substantial and illuminating volume would add that it reveals many other things as well; the amazing lack of united Protestantism to solve and centralize the problem of its religious education through unified executive competency is chief among them.

The study is divided into two parts. The first is a detailed examination of the thirteen organizations listed, with reference to organic structure, stated objectives, educational activities, leadership training, constituency, staff per-

sonnel, financing, interdenominational correlation and co-operation, measurement of results. Each of the various agencies, best termed "Councils of Religious Education," is described and evaluated. Some remarkable disclosures emerge. Business men preponderate in the support and control of the work; only one of the Councils was truly representative of the churches; professional public educators formed but 4½ per cent of the control boards (p. 12); only three organizations had given any considerable attention to the formulation of specific objectives (p. 22). What objectives were avowed were not functionally developed, as a result of "a tragic unanimity of failure to make surveys of the community situations" (p. 49). The work of enlisting and interesting young people is "muffed" as badly in the councils' programs as in the churches' (p. 61). The general attitude of the ministers was that of "friendly indifference," and individuals, rather than the churches, furnished the major portion of the sinews of war.

Part II sets forth in four chapters the New Haven (Connecticut) Council as an illustration of the best way to approach the problem functionally. Chapter xii is a splendid survey of the children of the community and incidentally provides a good résumé of Hartshorne's previous studies on the connection (or lack of it) between the children's ethical attitudes and those presumably taught in the church schools. Related to this subject are the low scores of the Sunday-school teachers in the moral knowledge and choice tests, as compared with those of the day-school teachers of the same children—even of the parents themselves (p. 160)! The impotence of Bible study as conventionally purveyed is pointed out (p. 157).

In chapter xvii a detailed presentation of the "factors of success in a community program of religious education" is given. These recommendations deserve the careful study of those professionally interested. Their gravamen is organization, and development of programs on a functional basis; the enlistment and representation of every Protestant church in the conduct of the work; close correlation of the Council with the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and the Boy Scouts, together with close co-operation with the Council of Social Agencies and the public schools.

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

✓ *The Strategy of City Church Planning.* By ROSS W. SANDERSON. Published by The Institute for Social and Religious Research, New York, 1932. Pp. 240; Appendixes and Index. \$2.00.

Nineteen hundred and seventy Protestant churches in sixteen cities of forty-seven denominations were studied in this survey, the purpose of which was to "ascertain and evaluate those outstanding determinative factors involved in problems of city church planning which may be advantageously and directly

utilized, and the deliberate control which has actually been introduced.") The book is highly technical in a sociological sense, as in chapter i ("Like City, Like Church") where maps and tables of population, character, and current events abound, and chapter ii ("Social Trends in the Environment of the Urban Church") and chapter iv ("The Correspondence between Urban Church Progress and Urban Social Change"). The conclusion for each of these chapters may be summed up as follows:

I. The Protestant church is still chiefly but decreasingly a neighborhood enterprise;

II. Like environment, like church;

III. Church growth is in general but unevenly keeping pace with population growth;

IV. Church progress corresponds with social trends in all types of territory and in all religions and in all denominations with comparatively slight variations.

Chapter v is a study of variant churches, sub-modal and super-modal. The table on page 111 is most significant in showing the causes for each development. Exceptional adaptability to the disadvantageous neighborhood comes first for the super-modal churches; then, exceptional group solidarity, paid leadership, location at traffic centers, equipment, varied and interesting programs, financial resources, prestige, lay leadership, and lack of competition follow in descending importance. Chapter vi continues the study with further specific analyses of the elements of success in super-modal churches and of failure of sub-modal.

The first four chapters of the book are invaluable for a social scientist interested in the relation of a neighborhood, an institution, or social program to nearby Protestant churches; the fifth and sixth chapters should be carefully studied by ministers faced with relevant problems and by their seminary teachers and denominational heads.

Co-operative urban strategy is described and pleaded for in chapter vii, the discussion being focused on the question:

How can a divided Protestantism at the end of four centuries of decentralization accomplish in its own way that sort of social engineering which public utilities finds so easy to achieve through their monopolistic control of certain functions and which the Roman Catholic church steadfastly performs on a basis of ecclesiastical authority? [p. 26].

The solution is suggested in:

The local congregation can refuse to enter or remain in a situation where an adequate ministry can be rendered without it. The individual denomination can do all within its power to prevent competition among churches of its own type. Inter-denominational co-operation can assure both the avoidance of competition through specific agreements and the general city planning which will provide churches of the type, number and location required by the expanding urban community. Protestantism can end competition whenever and wherever it seriously desires to do so [p. 188].

THE MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHARLES LYTTLE

The Religious Motive in Philanthropy: Studies in Biography. By HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN. ("The George Dana Boardman Lectures," 1931.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. xix+172. \$2.00.

"In service, even of the most abject, one comes in contact with an immortal soul. . . . Men can never be accurately understood and therefore effectively helped unless they be dealt with as sons of God." These are Dean Washburn's convictions, and he brings them to us with a fine sincerity. He does not ask us to accept cut-and-dried conclusions, but takes us with him step by step in his thinking, and leaves us—not at the journey's end—but with a wide vista of unexplored territory before us. Being Dean Washburn, he supports his thesis not with arguments but with men. Short biographical sketches of Samuel Barnett, St. Vincent de Paul, and St. Francis of Assisi present lives illumined with the love of God and devoted to the service of men. Then follows a study of the life of Christ treated from the same point of view, but showing how in Christ these three found their vision of God.

With all its honesty and humility this book will seem to the professional worker to be lacking in appreciation of his colleagues who may have made no formal profession of religion, but who have died to self in the service of their fellows. It will seem to him that these men and women will be found to be truly servants of God, in spite of the genuine surprise in their exclamation: "When saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee?" The further contribution that Dean Washburn would seem especially fitted to make would be the interpretation to the professional worker of the spiritual implications of his work. The thoughtful reader will find that this book ends too soon.

LOUISE B. POWERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Statistics. By R. CLYDE WHITE. New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1933. Pp. xxiv+471. \$4.00.

For years it has been clear that most of the scholars who have written textbooks on statistics—mathematicians, economists, agronomists, and others in allied fields—are unsuccessful in giving to social workers the kind of approach to the subject demanded by the character of their duties. Such writers are usually interested chiefly in data relating to price, production, and consumption. Social workers need to work with data relating to public assistance, child care, illiteracy, mental disease, and other fields germane to their functions. Principles and methods that seem useful elsewhere are, in many of these fields, either inapplicable or irrelevant.

If for no other reason Professor White's book will be welcomed by social workers and by teachers in schools of social work because it is addressed to the needs of their field. The illustrative materials are drawn from such sources as

the United States Children's Bureau Bulletin of Social Statistics, the Russell Sage monthly reports of family-welfare activities, the Leila Houghteling study of income in families of unskilled laborers in Chicago, the Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections, etc. The reviewer knows of no other textbook so well adapted from this point of view to the interests and obligations of social workers.

But the book likewise commends itself in many other ways. Few texts have achieved greater clarity. Special pains seem to have been taken to guide the student or the lay reader with more than usual care at those points where stumbling is most frequently encountered. No effort has been spared to elucidate by analogy, by demonstration, and by generous recourse to graphs.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I introduces the student briefly to the various aspects of group life to which statistical methods either already have been applied or may be in the future, such as poverty, divorce, delinquency, neglect, etc.; acquaints him with the principal sources of published statistics in these fields; discusses the nature of statistical research; and outlines procedures in working out a statistical problem. Part II, entitled "Statistical Analysis," contains, in addition to the usual chapters on measures of central tendency, measures of dispersion, index numbers, measurement of relationships, time series, and the theory of probability, an admirably concise chapter on vital statistics, a discussion of rating scales, and three chapters that describe the procedures of collecting and tabulating data and the principles that should guide in graphic presentation.

Chapter iii is undoubtedly one of the best brief discussions of the nature of statistical research in print anywhere. The respective rôles appropriate to the case method and the statistical method are set forth with an incisiveness that should help to dispel some of the muddled thinking that has so often obstructed a harmonious use of the two approaches in social studies. Professor White says:

In view of the fact that case study involves qualitative factors which cannot be reduced to statistical data, the only way a large number of cases can be treated statistically as wholes is to regard the judgments . . . about cases as statistical data. This may be done, but . . . the results may be questioned. . . . It should not be concluded, however, that case study is merely the handmaiden of statistics. It [case study] has a function secondary to no other method in the social sciences. By means of case study control over the development of events in individual cases is achieved for practical ends of amelioration. . . . [Statistics] will be more often of administrative value than as a means of discovering laws.

It is difficult to reconcile these clear-cut statements with the belief expressed elsewhere that the much-discussed predictability studies may prove to be the white hope of the delinquency field. This field would certainly seem to be one in which reliance should be placed upon those qualitative factors so pivotal in the case method and so highly regarded by Professor White. To subject the destiny of a human being to the vagaries of judgments expressed in mathematical terms is inconsistent with the temper of a generation that has repudiated,

along with classical economics, all rigid prescriptions that ignore the fundamental human right of variance.

It is difficult to pick flaws in this book except in occasional details. For example, many social workers familiar with the public welfare departments in Chicago, Los Angeles, and an increasing number of other cities will be unable to accept Professor White's sweeping statement that "public outdoor relief agencies simply dole out relief without any effort at constructive work." Likewise the assertion that "it is a simple matter to record a birth" may leave an erroneous impression in the mind of the student. The birth-registration blanks are of course sufficiently simple, but to get doctors or midwives actually to fill them out correctly in every case involves an administrative problem that is not simple. In the excellent discussion of the organization of record-keeping no mention is made of the two most important advances thus far made in the direction of uniform records from which comparable data may be drawn, namely, the monograph entitled *Recording and Reporting for Child Guidance Clinics*, prepared by Mary Augusta Clark and published by the Commonwealth Fund, and the handbooks on statistical recording in the fields of public health nursing and medical social service published by the United States Children's Bureau. A minor infringement of the conventions of graphic presentation is encountered on page 179 where the percentage figures are placed at the right of the bar chart; in this position, according to Brinton and his associates, the digits tend to be seen as a continuation of the bar itself and a confused perception of the desired comparison results. Many students have found the suggestions for selecting the size of the class interval in a frequency series very useful as set forth by Mills and will regret that Professor White has given scant attention to this problem.

The author very wisely has not attempted to exhaust the subject of index numbers within the price system. Instead, he has stated succinctly the essential facts needed by the potential consumer of statistics and has then presented a discussion of methods in which he makes an effective transfer to social data of the procedures chiefly familiar at present in the fields of business and economics.

The chapter on "Measurements of Relationships" is less satisfactory than any other in the book. In this field a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. The author recognized this and was driven into the opposite error. He has included too much, with the result that the tightly packed paragraphs do not set forth their content with the same generous clarity that characterizes the remainder of the volume.

Well-selected exercises for classroom use appear at the end of most chapters. In addition to a selected reference list, the Appendix contains tables of logarithms, reciprocals, squares, ordinates of the probability curve, and other useful mathematical functions. It seems safe to venture the prediction that Professor White's well-rounded and scholarly book will hold the field for a good many years among social workers as the most useful and most practical text in statistics in their field.

A. W. McM.

Better Homes Manual. Edited by BLANCHE HALBERT. Published in co-operation with Better Homes in America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxii+781. \$3.00.

Mastering a Metropolis. Planning the Future of the New York Region. By R. L. DUFFUS. New York: Harper, 1930. Pp. 302. \$3.00.

The first part of Miss Halbert's useful *Manual* deals with the housing of people who can afford to build or buy homes. Social workers concerned about the housing of their too numerous clients who cannot afford to buy homes and who are usually ill advised when they make the attempt to buy, will turn to Part II, where they will meet their old friends and veteran leaders in housing reform, Lawrence Veiller and Lawson Purdy. But the first part of the book will be very helpful indeed to social workers interested in the problem of how to house themselves or their personal friends.

The second volume listed above is an authorized popularization of the scientific detailed and technical volumes published by the Committee on the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs. The plans which were worked out by this committee after many years of study and research are presented here for the everyday reader. Maps and illustrations help the reader to visualize the very remarkable development which is presented here clearly and entertainingly.

Housing is one of many subjects discussed in this useful book. Mr. Duffus writes an interesting chapter on "How We Are Housed." There are still 350,000 "old-law tenements in New York City, a very great many of which are miserable rookeries" and in the period of housing shortage in 1920 practically all these old houses were occupied.

One of the most important conclusions of a study of a metropolitan region is that there is plenty of room for any population that can be possibly conceived of as living there. Our present difficulties about congested areas arise "from our failure to make efficient use of the abundant space at our disposal. Nature does not crowd us. We crowd ourselves."

A reduction in the number of rooms used by the average family is one of the striking changes in the housing of recent years. In New York the average size of apartments built in 1912 was 4.15 rooms; in 1928 it was 3.34.

Another tendency is the development of the co-operative apartment system. This system, however, affects the well-to-do rather than the poor who have not been able to change their renting habits. "Most of the co-operatives are in buildings still too expensive for the average man." This book was written before large sums of federal money had been set free for re-housing the badly housed sections of the population, but the author forecasts large expenditures for this purpose and offers wise suggestions.

The beauty and dignity of the great city that will follow a carefully planned development will be easily understood by those who have the pleasure of reading these interesting chapters on "Highways and Byways," "Parks and Boulevards," "Metropolitan Farms," "Neighborhoods," "Buildings of Tomorrow,"

and the other very readable plans for the future development of metropolitan New York in this attempt to set out in non-technical language the broad outlines of the findings of the Committee on the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs.

E. A.

Money Lending in Great Britain. By DOROTHY JOHNSON ORCHARD and GEOFFREY MAY. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1933. Pp. 185. \$2.00.

During the centuries a variety of remedies have been proposed to accomplish an adjustment of the whole circle of debtor-creditor relations. The goal is to reach some fair balance of equities in transactions where one man loans another money. The problem is not yet solved. This book presents forcibly some of the reasons why and gives us a vivid survey of the field of operations.

One part of that field deals with the situation where the borrower has nothing to give as security except a promise to repay. The lender anticipates a loss and protects himself accordingly. The conflicts between the need of the lender and the need of the borrower have produced a long series of abuses.

The writers have described these abuses and certain remedies and experiments but have not lost sight of the whole problem. The work is particularly interesting to American readers because it enables us to contrast the progress made in Great Britain with our advances. Conditions in the two countries and ideas as to solution differ. So many of our conclusions must be tentative. While the latest British Act (1927) has not been in operation long enough for us to secure figures on which to base a specific comparison of results achieved, the way is paved for such a study and it is to be hoped the investigation can be made.

Many devices are described by which the borrower is placed at a disadvantage. One will serve as an illustration of the authors' practical approach. Lenders renew loans in such a manner (by an unduly large last payment) as to create a condition of serfdom on the part of the borrower. They add to the interest charges which are called commissions, fees, fines, penalties, bonuses, expenses, inquiry fees and preliminary renewals. Consequently, it is hard to find out what is the rate of interest in a given transaction. The writers tell us of one occasion on which ten accountants were asked to calculate the rate of interest on a simple loan. There were ten different respective replies differing from 162.5 per cent to 1563.86 per cent per annum.

There is an interesting difference in the philosophy of the remedy. Whereas we speak of charges in excess of a specific rate in terms of usury, the English Court decisions are inclined to discuss the matter in terms of unfairness with regard to the particular transaction. One gets the impression that the British method, which, by the way, includes all loans, is more flexible than ours. The British law has set down the rate of 48 per cent a year as a turning point for the

burden of proof. If a larger rate than this is charged, it is prima facie excessive interest and an unconscionable act. But it may be so even at a lesser rate if the borrower can so prove. One is interested in this attitude toward the subject when we think of the arbitrary 6 per cent maximum interest rate which prevails in so many of our states and of the outcry which is raised whenever persons in this country seek to set up in a new jurisdiction the machinery of the Uniform Small Loans Law which provides for an interest rate of not more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a month or 42 per cent per annum. The Act of 1927 was devised to accomplish several objectives: First, to tighten the state control over money lenders through licensing; second, to provide specific protection to the borrowers by requiring that the lender give his true name; that he abstain from misleading advertising or circularizing; third, that every possible aid be given the borrower to understand the nature and extent of his obligation in the transaction, not only in advance but at any time in the course of the relationship; fourth, to control the problem of interest.

One hopes that eventually in England as well as in this country a solution will be found which will provide a fair adjustment of relative rights of the two contending parties. Certainly these authors have rendered a distinct service in telling us what has happened. The book should be widely read and even more widely appreciated. It is concise, well written. It sustains interest.

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BRIEF NOTICES

Community Chest Campaigns. General Principles of Organization and Administration. Published by the Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York, 1932. Pp. 107. Paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.50.

The campaign method of raising funds for philanthropic purposes was originated by the Young Men's Christian Association before the war. It was used then chiefly to obtain money for new buildings. The rapid growth of the community chest movement in the post-war period focused attention upon the campaign method for financing current operations. At least fifteen years' experience with campaigns in cities of every size in all sections of the country have now placed the community chest group in a position to speak with conviction on this subject.

The present book is intended to be useful. It does not discuss the implications of joint financing of social work through a single annual campaign. It assumes that joint financing has been agreed upon and that a successful drive for funds is therefore important. A statement of general principles that have stood the test of experience is followed by a detailed description of the two plans that have been used with greatest success. The Cincinnati effort of 1923 serves to illustrate the residential type of campaign. The Rochester drive of 1931 is set forth as an example of the business type of

campaign. Organization charts and facsimiles of record forms are used freely. Indianapolis during the period 1921-30 attempted to combine certain features of both the residential and the business campaign. A special committee created in that city to obtain contributions from so-called "foreign corporations" with branches in Indianapolis succeeded in increasing by 40 per cent the revenue obtained from these branch or "chain" organizations.

This book is simply and clearly written. Persons who have accepted responsibility for raising funds for social agencies should find it useful.

A. W. McM.

The Principal Cause of Unemployment: A Simple Explanation of Our Defective Money System. By DENIS WELLESLEY MAXWELL. London: Williams & Norgate, 1932. Pp. 273. 7s. 6d.

The author asserts that instruments of bank credit, developed because our national monetary system is inadequate for our volume of trade, give the banks virtual right to issue money. He states that when these notes and drafts turn over many times a year they increase the banks' wealth. He claims that these instruments of credit tend to accentuate business fluctuations by their increase in volume and velocity on the upswing and sharp decrease on the downward slope of the cycle. He suggests substitution of national money for these instruments of credit and claims that these would give the banks' profits to the nation.

The author evidently confuses verbosity, a naively didactic style, and nationalistic sentiments with popular appeal, for he is evidently trying to write for the man of the street.

M. R. C.

Das Freizeitleben der Grosstadtjugend. By ROBERT DINZE. (Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Vereins für Jugendwohlfahrt. H. 10). Berlin: Verlagsgesellschaft R. Müller, 1932. Pp. vii+125.

This study, made by a child welfare worker in Berlin in co-operation with the *Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt*, is based on the returns from questionnaires answered by 2,637 city boys and 2,554 city girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The questions included amount of leisure time, living conditions and enjoyment or feeling of lack of adjustment at home, enjoyment of discussion or play, recreation through music, handicraft, keeping animals as pets, gardening, reading with the books read, the movie, the theater, concerts, sport, hiking or walking, friendships, club life, and political and church interests. The results are given as excerpts from answers with brief comment. They are illuminating.

M. R. C.

✓ *Infants and Children: Their Feeding and Growth.* By F. H. BARTLETT, M.D. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1932. Pp. xii+409. \$1.50.

This book is an unusually complete presentation of the feeding and care of the young child. The author discusses breast and artificial feeding, and the various problems which may arise in connection with feeding, in considerable detail. The section on artificial feeding is especially complete, and not only are numerous formulas for use at

different age-levels or when weaning the baby given, but the author also gives specific directions for calculating the formula for an infant on a weight-and-age basis. In fact when one considers the completeness with which artificial feeding has been presented, the question might be raised as to whether so much detail and such an abundance of schedules might not tend to confuse rather than clarify artificial feeding for the average mother. It is also a question whether the value and desirability of breast feeding might not have been emphasized more had it been placed before instead of after the chapter on artificial feeding.

The sections of the book devoted to the daily care of the infant, to habits and to habit formation, and to the diseases of childhood are especially good. The language is simple and the advice is excellent.

The book can well be recommended to mothers wishing to have a detailed discussion of the care of a child.

SUSAN P. SOUTHER, M.D.

Youth Never Comes Again. By CLINCH CALKINS. Published by the Committee on Unemployed Youth, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York City, 1933. Pp. 71. \$0.25.

Under the provocative title *Youth Never Comes Again*, the Committee on Unemployed Youth has recently published a handbook for the use of those interested in the fate of boys and girls of school-leaving age in a world that has found no way to utilize their enthusiasms and ambitions.

Despite some initial pages that are in the nature of preachment, the manual contains in brief compass an astonishing range of information. One section is devoted to the mechanics of rallying community interest to get a program started. Flexibility and the imagination to use existing resources are stressed, but it is clear that a community-wide council of adult education is believed to be the most hopeful instrumentality for integrating group effort.

More than half of the report is given over to a description of activities instituted in various sections of the country in behalf of idle youth. These synopses are highly suggestive and will undoubtedly be of great service to community leaders. Copies of the manual may be obtained from the Committee's headquarters.

A. W. McM.

Die jugendliche Arbeiterin: Ihre Arbeitsweise und Lebensform. By LISBETH FRANZEN-HELLERSBERG. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1932. Pp. xii+144. RM. 6; RM. 8.70 bound.

This is a study of the young working woman at her job and in her private life. After considering the difficulty of piercing the mask which the worker presents to those who do not belong to the proletariat, the author discusses some of the characteristics of ill-paid, monotonous work. She mentions, among other conditions of industrial unemployment, acceptance of monotony, inability to see the whole industrial process of which the worker is a part or to visualize her own working future, and failure to secure real economic emancipation through work because of low wages, uncertainty of the job, and family demands.

In discussing the effects of poor home conditions, the author speaks of the working girl's unsatisfied hunger for affection because the mother has not time, and becomes hard

and unresponsive. She says that the mother has an extraordinary influence upon the young working girl and, in contrast to more comfortable families, an indifference or antagonism to the father. She shows rather vividly the effect of cramped and drab living quarters. She points out ignorance of the simplest biological and physiological phenomena. She says that there is little thought for the future either in an occupation or in marriage. The total effect of the book is to picture ignorance and underprivilege facing the job and life baffled and worsted at the outset.

M. R. C.

Illiteracy in the United States. By SANFORD WINSTON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 168. \$3.00.

This is an attempt to measure historically and statistically from 1870-1920 the relations between illiteracy and sex, age, environment (urban or rural), race, nationality, and the school system, as well as the relationship between illiteracy and the social factors of birth-rate, suicide, urbanization, and the school system. Most of the conclusions bear out quantitatively the opinions generally held on the subject. It is interesting to observe that the author finds regional differences to be reducible to age, sex, race, "nationality," urbanization, and school facilities; sexual differences disappear when viewed in terms of the other factors; that the difference between urban and rural illiteracy is diminishing; that the illiteracy of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage is lower than that of native parentage. Furthermore he finds, as was to be expected, a positive correlation between illiteracy and high birth-rate, high infant mortality, high marriage rate, and a negative correlation with mobility and suicide.

MAX HANDMAN

✓ *The History of St. Thomas's Hospital. Volume I, From the Earliest Times Until A.D. 1600.* By F. G. PARSONS. London: Methuen & Co., 1932. Pp. xii + 256. 10s. 6d.

The first volume of the history of the oldest hospital in England covers the period up to 1600, and as actual administrative records of the hospital do not begin until 1566, the earlier chapters are of more interest to the antiquarian than to the general reader. The book resembles Sir Norman Moore's *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* in content but it is much less imposing in form.

The beginnings of St. Thomas's Hospital are a matter of conjecture, but the author has convincingly traced its origin to "infirmarium" of the Priory of St. Mary the Virgin, known as St. Thomas's Spital from the time of Thomas Becket's canonization in 1173. A great part of the book deals with documents that concern hospital property, but we can forgive any tediousness when we come to the translation in full of Edward VI's charter of June 26, 1553, creating the Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas. From then on we have an intensely interesting and human story, compiled for the most part from the minutes of the meetings of the board of governors of the hospital. The situations recorded have a startling likeness to those of our own time, and we can appreciate to the full the governors' good sense and kindness in dealing with the problems of character and temperament which came to their attention.

We come to the end of this first volume, looking forward with pleasant anticipation of what is in store for us in the second.

L. B. P.

- ✓ *Ten Years in a London Slum; Being the Adventures of a Clerical Micawber.* By the REV. DESMOND MORSE-BOYCOTT. London: Skeffington & Son, 1929. Pp. 256. 18s.

This book, which was selling in its fourteenth thousand last year, is a very readable account of the interesting life of an English clergyman in a London slum area. The whole narrative is delightfully informal and is in no sense a carefully planned account of parish work among the poor. It is rather a "string" of incidents and anecdotes, many of them very amusing, of all sorts and conditions of people. The Bishop of London commends the book "as vividly illustrating the life of a London slum and the work and problems of the Church in slum parishes." The Bishop also commends the author's "enthusiastic and persevering work" for the boys of Somers Town, where his parish is located.

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- The Stream of Time: Social and Domestic Life in England, 1805-1861.* By MRS. C. S. PEEL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. xix+265. \$4.00.

The author of this interesting narrative is well known as a social historian of distinction. In this volume she has adopted the unusual method of making the life of an earlier day more vivid by telling the story of a particular family. This method both adds and detracts from the value of the narrative. It adds because it helps to sustain the interest of the casual reader. It detracts because, like a historical novel, it fails to convey to the reader the sense of authority that a historical narrative should carry with it. That is, the form in this case makes the story seem less authoritative.

However, the social worker will find herself carried along here by the interest in various social reformers who came and went during the nineteenth century in England. Hannah More, Mrs. Trimmer, and Joseph Lancaster and the problems of the "lower classes," as the social worker's clients were then called, William Wilberforce and his numerous philanthropies, Elizabeth Fry and the prisons, the Honorable Mrs. Norton and the problem of co-guardianship, are only a few of the numerous interesting aspects of social life that the person interested in social welfare will find. The reader travels by stagecoach and on the new railways, sees and learns of the life of the workers in the new mills and the dreadful mines of that day.

The publishers have assisted the author by preparing a handsome book, well illustrated with numerous pictures and drawings of contemporary interest.

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- ✓ *Hope for the Leper: The Present-Day Solution of an Ancient Problem.* By CHRISTINE L. TINLING; with a Foreword by W. M. DANNER. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1932. Pp. 57. \$0.60.

Hope for the Leper was written in the interest of the Mission to Lepers, an organization which raises funds to support work among lepers in mission stations of various denominations. The book is written in a non-technical, rather too rhetorical style from data gathered while the author was traveling as a world-organizer of the W.C.T.U. The human situations with which it deals are dramatic, and the book performs a real service in introducing us to a field of medical and social service too little known to us all.

L. B. P.

Girton College, 1869-1932. By BARBARA STEPHEN. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. Pp. x+202. 3s. 6d.

Lady Stephen has supplemented her interesting and valuable account of *Emily Davies and Girton College* with this more detailed description of the steps which helped bring about a complete revolution in women's education. This book not only describes the early years of Girton College, but carries on its development beyond Emily Davies' time. It is well that it should be somewhat personal in its method, for in these days, when university education for women is accepted as a matter of course, the world is apt to forget the women and men, too, who toiled and sacrificed and dreamed that greater freedom should be the gift of coming years to women. The record, supplemented with the memories of Dame Louisa Innes Lumsden, one of the first students of the college, in her recently published *Yellow Leaves*, may serve to hearten many social workers who are fighting valiantly for still greater gains for humanity.

MARION TALBOT

America through Women's Eyes. Edited by MARY R. BEARD, New York: Macmillan, 1933. Pp. 558. \$3.80.

In this charming book the author, herself a leader in the women's movement as well as a historian, shows women's participation in, and opinions on, significant phases in American history. She does it by well-chosen selections from women writers, either contemporaries or historians.

She devotes chapters to the first settling of America, the Revolution, pioneering in the West, early problems of women industrial workers as shown by Edith Abbott, women's life on the plantation as given by "Patience Pennington" and others, and women's contribution to the active thought and idealism of the period just preceding the Civil War. She gives the points of view on slavery and the participation in the war of women in the North and in the South. She shows women as temperance crusaders, advocates of women's suffrage, and social reformers. She shows them breaking into the professions and engaging in agriculture and business. She shows their part in world-war and world-peace. In all of these pages she casts new light not only upon the broader aspects of the women's movement but upon the phases of American history in which women were active. She shows them "taking new bearings" in today's changing world.

An excellent Introduction and explanatory statements throughout give continuity. The result dignifies the position of woman by showing her contributions to American life. The book is fascinating reading.

M. R. C.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

EMERGENCY RELIEF REPORTS

- Federal Relief Administration: Reports of the Administrator, June to December, 1933.* Washington, D.C., 1934.
- Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, Annual Report, for the Year Ending February 5, 1933. Issued Jointly with a Report of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission (Federal) Covering the Period July 27, 1932, through February 5, 1933.* Chicago, 1933. Pp. iv+145.
- New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration Report, October 15, 1932.* Albany, 1932. Pp. 86.
- New Jersey Emergency Relief Administration, First Annual Report of, to the Governor and to the Senate and General Assembly, October 12, 1932.* Trenton, 1932. Pp. 159.
- Unemployment Relief in Wisconsin, 1932-1933.* Published by the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, February, 1933 (Bureau of Unemployment Relief Series, No. 4). Pp. 33.
- Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania, September 1, 1932—October 31, 1933. Report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board of Pennsylvania.* Harrisburg, Pa., December, 1933. Pp. 99.
- "Unemployment Relief" (Part I); "Public Relief Handbook" (Part II), *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction*, No. 211, December, 1933, pp. 233-309. Published by the Indiana Department of Public Welfare.
- Unemployment Relief Administration of the State of West Virginia (with Organization and Activities of the Department of Public Welfare).* Charleston, 1933. Pp. 89.
- Mississippi Relief and Work Relief Administration (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) Rules and Regulations Revised to May 1, 1933.* Mississippi State Board of Public Welfare, Jackson, Miss., 1933. Pp. 23.

The publication of an increasing number of reports of the emergency relief commissions indicates progress in organization and a serious effort to put the unemployment relief work on a basis of service and efficiency in administration.

The federal relief statute of May, 1933, which created the office of Federal Relief Administrator directed that monthly reports should be made to Congress. These reports have been issued regularly therefore since the Administrator took

office, and they furnish an exceedingly valuable record of the various activities carried on by the new federal relief administration.

New York and Illinois have issued various reports, but only the one most recently published is noted at the head of this list. The Illinois report listed above is really the sixth. The Commission has been changed so far as its name and relationship to the state and federal government are concerned, but there has really been one Commission since 1932, continuously under the direction of a well-known social worker, Wilfred S. Reynolds, on leave from the Chicago Council of Social Agencies. The reports of this Commission have been issued promptly and provide extremely valuable information about the state work.

The work of the New York Commission should perhaps take precedence in the list because this was the first commission to administer state funds for general home relief. President Roosevelt as Governor of New York set a very noteworthy precedent when he secured a large state appropriation to supplement local relief funds as early as September, 1931. The various reports that have been issued from Albany furnish a useful record of the well-organized New York work. There have been some special reports on Food Allowances and on Subsistence Gardens.

New Jersey also began issuing useful reports at an early date. The one listed above contains a discussion of Work Relief (Public Made Work) and Relief Wages.

Wisconsin was one of the states that followed the lead of Governor Roosevelt with a substantial state appropriation in aid of local outdoor relief in the special session of 1931. In Wisconsin the State Industrial Commission has been in charge of the administration of the state relief fund. Early in the spring of 1932 several counties had exhausted all their funds and were using scrip; "some of them were using road and school funds for relief . . . some towns were allowing families to suffer because of lack of funds and inability to borrow from the banks." Hearings held by the Commission revealed the plight of these counties, of the families settled on the poorest land, of the acute problem of the Indians, who are always on the verge of starvation. The prompt application of Governor La Follette for federal aid and the method of distributing both federal and state funds and the efforts to provide social work personnel are all carefully set out.

The executive director of the Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board gives an account of the more recent organization of the state relief work there, the various divisions of the state organization, the advisory committees, and the organization of local boards. One chapter is devoted to a discussion of food budgets, the place of the food order in an emergency relief program, the limitations of community markets as a method of food distribution, milk relief, and distribution of surplus food products. Experience with shoes and clothing relief, medical care, and thrift gardens is given. The discussion of work relief is interesting. Policies concerning relief to transients and homeless, to certain mothers' assistance cases, and to strikers are explained. There is a chapter on local administration and personnel, and one on the volume and cost of unem-

ployment relief. The appraisal of the state program and recommendations for the future show how far the state has progressed since the fall of 1930.

The Indiana Bulletin is recent enough to include a section on the state Civil Works Administration. The creation and history of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief and the added duties and responsibilities of federal aid are carefully reviewed with a brief statement regarding the present administration, the present relief methods, medical aid, care of transients, civilian conservation corps, and employment service, all of which belong in the Indiana picture. Most interesting, however, is the section on "Tangled Poor Relief Financing." Until 1931, relief in Indiana had been financed entirely out of surplus county funds. "The Indiana law established the township civil government as the public relief agency, and required the township trustee to give relief according to the need which, in his judgment, existed." However, in the early part of 1931, in a few populous counties, the drain on account of poor relief expenditures "became so heavy that auditors felt their county revenue funds could no longer make sufficient advancements. The problem was submitted to the legislature then in session, and an act was passed authorizing counties to issue county poor relief bonds to pay such expenses already incurred."

The story of these county poor relief bonds which had a fairly ready market until the autumn of 1932 is indeed a tangled story. Last August the Commission notified all counties that federal aid could not carry the load. "Beginning with September 1, the proportion was dropped to 50 per cent in most counties, with the warning that the proportion would be no larger than that, if as much, for the remainder of this year."

There are some parts of the state, where such a program will manifestly not carry on relief. In Sullivan and Vermillion counties (mining counties) taxes have been levied as high as \$4.25 on each \$100 of taxable property, and yet the counties have defaulted on their bonds and the economic situation is that there is practically no possibility that township judgment bonds, or any kind of local bonds would find a market. This also applies to St. Joseph and Lake counties, two of the larger counties of the state. Both have levied very substantial poor relief taxes, but because of defaults, largely due to huge delinquencies, their bonds would have a very difficult market.

The hardships entailed by the determination to make the local authorities carry "their share" is shown in the experience of Greene County:

In Greene county relief was stopped due to the refusal of the county auditor to levy sufficient taxes as required by law, and the Commission's refusal to give more than 50 per cent of Federal aid and 50 per cent out of local funds.

Relief was stopped there on October 19 and for three weeks the indigent people of the county had no assistance except for work-relief on the state highways and the pork received from the Federal government.

The new State Department of Public Welfare in West Virginia, which was organized in 1931, includes the Unemployment Relief Administration as one of its divisions. The United States Children's Bureau co-operated with the West Virginia Commission by loaning Miss Skinner, a well-known experienced social

worker for pioneer work in unorganized parts of the state. The American Friends Service Committee has also been very helpful in the mining areas where the suffering has been very great.

The Mississippi publication is intended

as a manual to guide those having the responsibility for the administration of State Relief Funds in Mississippi. It contains some standard practices for the administration of relief as well as the rules and regulations adopted by the Mississippi State Board of Public Welfare. In preparing this book the State Board of Public Welfare has kept in mind that there is some difference in conditions in the various communities and that it is necessary to give individual consideration to local situations. It is true, however, that, fundamentally, communities differ very little, for human nature is very much the same wherever we go. A successful program and procedure in one place can usually with but few changes be followed in any unit, as no two communities are entirely different.

In a state where social work is still relatively new, this report marks a very notable effort to meet the emergency, "help the destitute unemployed, and relieve their suffering with the greatest dispatch and efficiency possible." The state workers are told that "every dollar available for relief should be spent so as to help as great a number of destitute relief applicants as is humanly possible, and the State Board of Public Welfare offers its unstinted co-operation to local boards of supervisors in this difficult task."

An important problem soon to be faced in many states is "What next?" Emergency relief commissions cannot carry on indefinitely. Will the state departments of welfare assume the burden of state direction and supervision of the work that must be carried on into the future?

THE MICHIGAN POOR LAW

Local Relief to Dependents. A Report to the Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township and School District Government.
By OPAL V. MATSON. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1933. Pp. 70.

This very timely publication in the Michigan Local Government Series will be very useful to social workers who are trying to secure revisions of their state poor laws. Michigan follows the poor law system common to the North-central states, a local authority with mixed county, township, or city responsibility. The inefficiency of the antiquated system that pays county "overseers of the poor" a few dollars a day to carry the family welfare work of the Michigan counties is well described. The wretchedness of the poorhouses still to be found in some of these counties is indescribable. The functions of the probate court in the attempts to make provision for special groups are discussed, and the development of state responsibility for certain services ends with an account of the state welfare department. A social worker's criticism of the report is that the conclusions (pp. 66-70) are not sweeping enough.

SETTLEMENT EVERYWHERE

Compilation of Settlement Laws of All States in the United States. By DAVID C. ADIE, Commissioner of Social Welfare, and HARRY M. HIRSCH, Assistant Commissioner, Division of State Aid, New York State Department of Social Welfare. Revised as of April, 1933. Albany, 1933. Pp. 22.

Our Settlement Laws: Their Origin: Their Lack of Uniformity. Proposed Measures of Reform. By HARRY M. HIRSCH. New York State Department of Social Welfare, Bulletin No. 1. Albany, 1933. Pp. 32.

Commissioner Adie and Assistant Commissioner Hirsch are to be congratulated on the timely appearance of these two bulletins dealing with one of the most vexatious questions connected with poor law administration. The *Compilation of Settlement Laws* will be very useful for reference purposes. The sections of the statutes are quoted for the states having definite legal provisions regarding settlement; and for the states without such provision the accepted practice of the state is briefly stated. In the second bulletin a very convenient tabular statement shows all residence requirements for all the states. It is important that this table shows nine states in which settlement can only be acquired by residence for a period of three years or more. These are California, South Carolina, and Vermont, which have a three-year requirement; Connecticut with four years; Maine, Massachusetts, and New Jersey requiring five years; New Hampshire with seven; and Rhode Island with ten. The plight of the unfortunate man, woman, or child who loses his old settlement long before he can acquire a new one in such states as these is one that ought not to be tolerated. In this second bulletin a discussion of the whole subject of settlement clarifies many points. Particularly valuable is the carefully prepared section dealing with the variations in the settlement laws of the different states, the statutory provisions regarding loss of settlement, the special provisions regarding removal and support of those without settlement.

COUNTY WELFARE

The County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work. By MARY RUTH COLBY (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 224). Washington, D.C., 1933. Pp. 48. \$0.05.

The Federal Children's Bureau in this study of the county as an administrative social work unit has produced a timely document.

In these days when public social work administration is in a state of flux; when "emergency relief" is occupying the stage completely; when, as we hope, in the not too distant future we shall begin once more to think in terms of the many social services which government must render; it is exceedingly helpful to have at one's disposal an up-to-date statement of the tested experience in many states as it relates to the county as an administrative unit.

The bulletin written by Mary Ruth Colby under the direction of Agnes K. Hanna, Director of the Social Service Division, is based upon field visits, correspondence, and published documents.

In many instances the county units deal primarily with the welfare of children but experience indicates that the county agency (whether it is designated as a "child welfare" or a "public welfare agency") when staffed by qualified case workers has been called upon to serve all persons needing care whether old or young, dependent, delinquent, or handicapped.

The use of volunteers, of paid workers; of salary rates; of qualifications of workers; county unit budgets, etc., are discussed, and provide valuable data for those considering local social work development.

The variety of services which may be undertaken successfully by a county welfare board are apparently without limit and range from supervision of school attendance to community planning on a large scale.

The summary and conclusions of the bulletin give in compact form the essence of the practical experience of sixteen states and indicate that success depends very largely on state participation in the local organization in terms of grants-in-aid; establishment of standards of education, training, and experience for personnel; the utilization of representative county boards made up of public spirited citizens, often with some public officials in the administrative body.

The importance of state leadership is stressed in educating the county to the recognition of its social needs; assistance in perfecting organization; continued consultative service as necessary; and such supervision as may be necessary to insure the maintenance of a high type of professional service.

This bulletin should be useful in any attempt which is made looking to the ultimate integration of the residuum of "emergency relief" set-ups, with the ordinary everyday services in the welfare field which must be carried on under government auspices.

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UNEMPLOYMENT IN BUFFALO

Unemployment in Buffalo, November, 1932. NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, DIVISION OF STATISTICS AND INFORMATION. Albany, 1933. Pp. 49.

Using substantially the method adopted in 1929 (see this *Review*, IV, 531), the New York State Department of Labor and the Buffalo Foundation have made the fourth consecutive annual report of unemployment in Buffalo at the beginning of November. This report discloses five times as many unemployed men, able and willing to work, in 1932 as in 1929. The change is shown by the four studies to have been progressive. Classification of the unemployed according to age, nationality or race, and occupation gives significant material.

M. R. C.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

Employment Exchanges. An International Study of Placing Activities. (International Labour Office Studies and Reports, Series C, Employment and Unemployment, No. 18). Geneva, 1933. Pp. 231. \$1.25. Distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation, Boston.

This is an excellent summary of employment exchange experience. The first chapter on the general organization of exchanges is rich in material, especially concerning relations with employers and with workers in the section on registration and co-ordination of vacancies and applications for employment. Other chapters cover specialization by occupation and sex, occupational changes, labor clearing, international placing, and statistics of the operations of exchanges. An Appendix gives the draft conventions and recommendations concerning fee-charging agencies. There is a good brief Bibliography.

M. R. C.

MENTAL HYGIENE

Forty-fourth Annual Report of the New York Department of Mental Hygiene July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932 (Frederick W. Parsons, M.D., Commissioner). Albany, N.Y., 1933 (Legislative Document [1933] No. 29). Pp. 357.

This report, like all of those coming from the departments of the New York State Government, brings important material for the student of public social service. In the states in which services are allotted to a number of departments instead of being combined in one, as is the case with Illinois and New Jersey, it is necessary for the student of public welfare to take note of the experience in the field of Mental Hygiene and of Corrections, as well as in the field described by the terms "Public Welfare" or "Social Welfare." This report, then, of the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene is a contribution to the knowledge and thought of all of those who are concerned with the scope and quality of work done by public social agencies. The statistical material is interesting, and enables the student to remain aware of the tremendous costs involved in the undertaking to give adequate care to certain groups of wards of the state. It is true, however, that during the year 1931-32 the expenditures in this particular field dropped both in the item of "Maintenance" and in the item of "Additions and Improvements" in connection with the state hospitals. However, the amount in 1932 was larger than the amount expended in 1930, although considerably less than the amount expended in 1931.

It is not possible to review in detail the numbers given. Attention can only be called to the availability of the report (which may be had on application to the Department at Albany), and to certain interesting suggestions contained in it. Among these, special reference might be made to the fact that the Depart-

ment holds quarterly conferences at which important phases of psychiatric social work and other problems connected with the administration of the Department are discussed. These conferences are held sometimes at state institutions, sometimes at the Capitol Building in Albany. The Department maintains an annual institute for chief occupational therapists who can share with their subordinates the results of their participation in these institutes. The report of the Social Service in state institutions is especially interesting. At the beginning of the year there were 2,948 cases receiving service from the social service workers in institutions, and 466 at large in the community. The staff of social workers of the Department numbers 68, and during the year 9,342 new patients were referred to the social workers in the hospitals and 506 to the social workers in state schools. The discussion of the nature of services rendered to these patients is interesting and suggestive. The Department held a conference for social workers and a six-weeks' institute for the chief social workers, the proceedings of which would again prove serviceable to subordinates on the various staffs.

As has been suggested, the material in this report should be noted in connection with that of the Commissioner of Social Welfare and the Commissioner of Corrections.

CRIPPLED CHILDREN OF KANSAS

Kansas Crippled Children Commission, First Biennial Report, July 1, 1931, to October 1, 1932. Topeka, January 1, 1933. Pp. 96.

The first biennial report of the Kansas Crippled Children Commission prepared under the direction of Glenn A. Bakum, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Director of the Bureau of Municipal Social Research of the University of Wichita, with the collaboration of R. A. Raymond, Executive Secretary of the Commission, covers the first fifteen months of the Commission's work under the new Kansas law (chap. 283, *Laws of Kansas*, 1931) relating to the care of crippled children.

The statistical report is compiled from data taken from clinical records, expense vouchers, medical inspection charts, and the commitment papers of children committed under the provisions of the new law for a period of only nine months, January 1, 1932, to October 1, 1932. While this does not afford a complete presentation of any phase of the work, the report is of especial interest and value because of the fact that it sheds light upon the development of a program in a state in which work for crippled children is of comparatively recent origin, and must be carried forward in communities where the public is little informed as to modern methods and results of orthopedic surgery or of the possibilities of re-education. Considerable space is given to photographs of the routine work in examination, surgery, and hospital care, as well as to improvements effected in typical individual cases.

The statistical study is based upon the clinical examination of 654 children and upon the records of 999 children under hospital care during the nine months

period. The findings relative to the causes of crippling, age at onset, and relative frequency of the more common crippling diseases or defects correspond closely to those found in the more recent studies made in other states.

The report as a whole presents a strong appeal for the extension of all phases of work for the crippled in Kansas, one of the four states which have not availed themselves of the national civilian vocational rehabilitation act.

LA PORTE, INDIANA

LAURA HOOD

LOUISIANA'S CHILDREN'S CODE

A Compilation of Louisiana Statutes Affecting Child Welfare and the Report of the Louisiana Children's Code Committee (Louisiana State University Studies Number 10). By HARRIET SPILLER DAGGETT. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1933. Pp. 350.

Louisiana is fortunate in having had its child welfare laws examined by an able Code Committee, on which was represented the interest of the State Bar Association and of the State Conference for Social Betterment. This Committee was also fortunate in its chairman, Mrs. Harriet Spiller Daggett, a Professor of Law at Louisiana State University.

The report is finely comprehensive and covers the state organization for public welfare, the organization of the juvenile court, a discussion of the criminal law in relation to crimes by and against children, the administration of legislation looking toward the protection of wage-earning women and children, the compulsory attendance legislation, provision for recreation, a discussion of the child born out of wedlock, and the general organization for the support and maintenance of the destitute. Dr. Daggett took definitely as her model a compilation of laws relating to children in Minnesota prepared by Judge Charles F. Hall, at that time director of the State Children's Bureau.

The Commission recommends certain changes that will substitute for the present Board of Charities and Corrections a State Department of Public Welfare, with which would be co-ordinated parish (local) boards of public welfare. They give attention especially to the subject of the licensing and regulation of maternity hospitals, to the supervision of child-placing and child-care organizations, and to the question of the guardianship of dependent and neglected children. The Committee has also taken serious note both of the question of adoption and of improving the status of the child born out of wedlock.

In connection with these proposals, suggested drafts of approved statutes are included so that the proposals of the Committee may be promptly taken advantage of either by the legislature or by groups concerned with developing public opinion in the state which will lead to legislative changes in the reasonably near future.

All students of the problem of reorganizing the law relating to children are under obligation to this Committee for its careful and thorough work.

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